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LETTERS

FROM

THE CONTINENT

BY

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LETTERS

FROM THE CONTINENT.

LETTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Switzerland, 27th June, 1819.

ITINERARIES, Tours, Travels; Topographical, Historical, and Statistical Descriptions of every part of Europe, abound even to satiety. He therefore who should attempt to add another to these classes of works, would not act very discreetly.

Remarks and reflections suggested by the scenes or manners of foreign countries are not liable to the same censure. If there be intrinsic value in the writer's thoughts, information, or language; if he should be happily gifted with

original powers of mind; with liveliness of fancy; and energy of feeling; the view of new prospects; of different customs; and other forms of government may add to the animation of his mind, and give a favourable opportunity of pouring out some of its stores.

The matter of Travels therefore, will only make an incidental part of these Letters; and will only be noticed so far as it may give rise to the subject which may occupy the excursions of the author's mind. Faculties ever at work, an heart ever in motion, weave webs, and build castles, in every situation which they fondly desire to preserve and communicate.

There are few pleasures equal to those of literature: there are scarcely any so innocent and pure: scarcely any so noble: and scarcely any so beneficial: when their fruits are not buried in the bosoms of the cultivators.

I never rest till I have obtained an outline, at least, of the history of the place that I inhabit; but I shall not trouble the reader with what may be easily found in printed books.

Switzerland, anciently called Helvetia, or the

greater part, was included in the temporary kingdom of Arles, in the ninth century, under Charles le Gros,* forming, I conceive, together with Savoy, that part which as a separate kingdom had gone under the name of Burgundy Trans-Jurane, while Burgundy Cis-Jurane, the other part, extended from Franche-Comtè, on the borders of Alsatia, north, through Burgundy, Dauphinè, and Provence, to the Mediterranean, south. This kingdom lasted but a very short time. It fell to peices again with the death of Charles le Gros, or rather with his deposition. Boson had taken it from Charles le Gros: but Rodolph soon wrested away from this Boson the kingdom of High Burgundy. His son, Rodolph II. joined again Arles and Provence by compromise with Hugh, Count de Provence, who was competitor with Berengaire I. for the kingdom of Italy. Rodolph III. the grandson, who died 1032, was the last king of this race. Such a vast territory would have formed a most powerful kingdom, if it had ever had time to consoli-

* Great grandson of Charlemagne. Ob. 888.

date itself: but perhaps it could not have consolidated itself from want of natural boundaries. Mallet, the historian, remarks that Switzerland alone seems marked out by Nature to make its inhabitants a people distinct from their neighbours.

Switzerland afterwards fell to the Emperors, till the Helvetic Confederacy emancipated them from the House of Hapsburg. Geneva fell under the at least contested power of the Counts of Savoy, who formed a principality out of the ruins of the kingdom of Burgundy. The Counts and Bishops of Geneva, and even the *Bourgeoisie*, disputed privileges and pre-eminences with them.

From the time that Geneva perfectly liberated itself, its history is quite familiar to all well-read persons. The figure it makes in the annals of Protestantism, and the names of Calvin and Beza have so associated it with that, which is most impressed upon the memory, that it would be disgusting to retread these steps. Lord Byron has drawn the attention of the English reader to the fate of Francis Bonnivard in his *Prisoners of Chillon*. He died about 1571, aged about

seventy-five. There are two or three curious traits of him, not elsewhere noticed, in the *Fragmens Biographiques et Historiques* of Mons. Grenus-Saladin, *Geneve*, 1815, 8vo. a rare volume, extracted from the original registers of the Council of Geneve, with ninety-seven portraits of Syndics, and other eminent Genevois.

The slightest allusions to the celebrated persons of Geneva, without any notice of Rousseau, would seem like coldness and neglect. The great difference of opinion, which it is customary to encourage regarding him, requires either a long discussion, or a recognition of the fewest words. Common-place praise, or common-place condemnation, would be idle and revolting. His character is one, which interest me to analyze: but which would be too long for this first stage of my outset. I may say the same of Madame de Stael.

Every one is attached naturally, and perhaps wisely, to the character and habits of his own country. As his experience enlarges; as his mind enlightens; as his associations untwist themselves; take new directions; and throw

themselves round new objects, he begins to wonder at many of his prejudices: to see happiness in other modes of life, and health and pleasure in other sorts of scenery; to believe that liberty and welfare are consistent with more than one form of goverment; to admit that wealth is not the result merely of one system of commerce, or one form of political economy: but that, of all, the major part have some good, peculiar to themselves: that many things, deemed essential, soon become indifferent: and that we soon reconcile ourselves to the indurance, or privation, of what we had formerly thought most important to be free from, or possessed of.

It is by constant occupation, wherever our lot may carry us, that Time moves swiftly, and and generally smoothly, on. The thoughts prey upon the heart, when not strongly engaged. Who is free from regrets of the past, or dread of the future? Who has not had his misfortunes, and his griefs? Who has been free from deep wounds to his affections, from the loss of friends, from the premature death of beloved relatives? The spirit must be hard, that can give ample

space to the power of these sorrowful musings! They gather strength by indulgence, and burst the breast that allows them room to swell.

But how can the regions of literature be exhausted? Each new step opens numerous new vistas to us yet unexplored; and the more we read, the more we have to learn. Every new country we visit suggests a thousand enquiries, on which before we felt no curiosity. We associate its history with its scenery, and the visible relics of its former grandeur; an interest is raised for its rulers and its people; our impressions and recollections become, as it were, embodied: the light spreads: we go from country to country: one history links itself to another; till the whole is elucidated: the figures on all sides start from the canvas: each throws a ray upon its neighbours: and the whole shews an unity of design, of which many of the parts were before inexplicable.

We know that all are not qualified for this mental industry. Either the native endowment, or the habitual attention, is wanting. Perhaps also the labour of reading may only overload

the memory, if their be no force of intellectual digestion. An overloaded memory is a dangerous thing: it serves to make folly more conspicuous; to increase its conceit; and augment the delusion of its self-confidence.

On the other hand, what can the most powerful human mind do without knowledge? What enlarged opinions can we form on politics without history? How can we be confident of the character of human nature, under various circumstances, but from a familiarity with the experience of past ages? Is the present alone to be our care? Is the present sufficient for all the observation we require; and all the practical results we have occasion for?

It is history which reconciles us to our lot: it is history that shows us, when we are unhappy, how few have escaped better than ourselves: that power and principalities are never free from deep anxieties; and seldom from dangers, and violent deaths! This the annals of every Sovereign House of Europe will sufficiently shew.

A man of enlarged faculties, and enlarged cultivation, wanders about a citizen of the world,

feeling an interest in the events of every country, and the characters of human nature under every government, and every climate. He seeks to extend his restless desire of knowledge by diversified observation; to refresh his mind by novelty of matter; and to give new impulse to his perceptions by change of scenery, and variety of objects.

Europe restored to peace, and restored to the principles of its ancient institutions, revives all that interest for the stories of old times, which had almost ceased from the force with which the most destructive changes had been effected, and the blaze of new doctrines by which they had been gilded. The transactions of the past again associate themselves with the existing orders of things: and the literature, which supplies the store of moral and political pictures, is once more called for, protected, and read with avidity.

The Swiss appear to be great readers: they are a laborious, patient people: their knowledge is extensive; and they seem to have a turn for the Sciences: but I should doubt if a pre-eminence of Imagination was not a rare endowment

with them. Rousseau and Madame de Stael may be said to have almost exhausted the whole fountain of their supply. However, the Baroness de Montolieu, the author of *Caroline* de Lichtfeld, and numerous other Tales, has an easy and fertile fancy, enriched by various knowledge, and beautifully shaded by a simple and touching moral pathos, and an happy facility and grace of style. She lives near Lausanne.

This letter, as introductory, has been made purposely general. Though it is not intended in future letters to enter into trite history, or trite topography, yet history out of the vulgar course of research, such as never appears in common books, and can only be collected by an attentive comparison of works of the first authority, ancient or modern, is a field that I shall take full liberty to enter upon, as accident gives the impulse. For instance, I may indulge the desire to strike out a sketch of the interesting annals of the fallen Kingdom of Burgundy, so utterly past over, or so confusedly alluded to, in modern volumes of travels or geography.

LETTER II.

The Kingdom of Burgundy---Helvetia---Ancient Kings---House of Charlemagne.

Switzerland, 1st July, 1819.

THE chain of high mountains, called the Jura, extending from North to South, separate France from Switzerland. The northern end of them points to Alsace, the southern to Provence and the Mediterranean. Their longitudinal direction is parallel with that of the Alpes. On the French side of this chain are, Franche-Comtè on the North, and Burgundy on the South. The country which liès between these parallel chains of mountains, the Jura and the Alpes, forms Helvetia, or Switzerland. On the North, this country is shut in by the Rhine: on the South, by the Rhone. So perfect were its ancient Natural Limits.

The Rhone takes its source from Mont-Furca, on the western side of St. Gothard, traverses the whole length of the Canton of Valais, and throwing itself into Lake Leman, passes through Geneva; a short distance afterwards receives the Arve, which brings to it the waters of Faucigny, and those of the northern and western sides of Mont-Blanc: afterwards it makes itself a passage among the rocks at the extremity of Mount Jura, ingulphs itself for some time, and at last, directing its course South, fertilizes many of the most beautiful departments of France, passing to Lyons, where it receives the Saone. It afterwards receives the waters of the Isere, the Drome, and the Durance, and discharges itself into the Mediterranean in the Gulf of Lyons.

The country which lies on the left bank of the Rhone, from Sion, the capital of Valais, to Geneva, at the bottom of Lake Leman, forms part of Savoy, except the small portion on the western shore of the extremity of the lake, which belongs to the Canton of Geneva.

The Rhine also takes its rise in the Grisons,

at no great distance from the source of the Rhone. It unites the waters of a great part of the northern chain of the Rhetian Alpes: and after having abandoned the Grisons, separates the Rhinthal from the Tyrol, traverses the Lake of Constance, and forms the limits of Switzerland on the North. It goes from Basle to Strasburgh, Spire, Manheim, Worms, Mayence, Coblentz, Cologne, Utretcht, Leyden, and discharges itself into the North Sea.

Switzerland, at least with the addition of this part of Savoy, would have seemed destined to have formed always a kingdom by itself. But Switzerland had not this good fortune. The Burgundians got dominion over it as early as A. D. 454. The kings of these Burgundians fixed their chief residence at Geneva, whence they extended their authority from the Reuss, (a river which also springs from St. Gothard, and traversing the Canton of Uri, and the Lake of the Four Cantons, throws itself into the Aar, by Windisch, in the Canton of Argau,) to the banks of the Rhone, and the Saone, which last has its source in the mountains of Vosges, near Darney,

in Lorraine, and joins itself to the Rhone, near Lyons. Their last king was Gondemar, son of Gondebaud, who was defeated in 534 by Dietbert de Metz, Clotaire de Soissons, and Childebert of Paris, kings of the Francs.

At this time rose the distinction of the *two* Burgundies. The first is that which was since called the *Duchy* of Burgundy*. The other comprehended Franche-Comtè, (or *High* Burgundy) West Switzerland, Geneva, Savoy, and Le Valais. East Switzerland was under the German sovereignty: this western part, of the King of Orleans.

The throne of Burgundy passed from Clotaire, A. D. 565, to his son Guntramn, who died s. p. A. D. 593. He was succeeded by his nephew Childebert, son of Siegbert, who dying A. D. 596, was followed by Didier. Clotaire, son of Hilperic, and nephew of Guntramn, mounted the throne A. D. 613. Dagobert, son of Clotaire, succeeded, and died A. D. 638. From the time of Dagobert, there remained nothing to the Merovingian Race, but the royal dignity, without

* *Low* Burgundy was the Province of that name.

the power. Able men elevated themselves to the rank of Mayors of the Palace, either by the interference of the states, or the imprudent favour of their kings. The monarchs slumbered in the peaceable enjoyment of their throne, while the Mayors, always active to increase their authority, and to render it durable and hereditary, tried all means of success, and signalized themselves as much by artful negotiations and hardy crimes, as by brilliant actions. The States of Burgundy, Austrasia, and Neustria, chose their Mayors of the Palace from the family of Pepin. The descendants having ruled a long while under these kings, elevated themselves above them, and exercised without them from A. D. 736, to A. D. 741, all the authority of the ancient generals of the army. The dread of the Arabs at length brought them to the possession of the high seat of ambition to which they had long aspired.

From the banks of the Red Sea, these Arabs had, in sixty years, subdued Egypt, Carthagena, a great part of Asia, northern Africa, Spain, and the Indies; and carried at the same time dismay to the walls of Paris, of Benares, and of Con-

stantinople. The Emir Abderachman, leading these furious hoards, had penetrated into France by the Pyrenees. All, even to Burgundy, had either submitted to the yoke of these barbarian aggressors, or sought safety in flight, when the Mayor, Charles Martel, alone opposed himself to the destruction of the manners, the government, and the religion of the Christians of the West, and stopped the progress of the Arabs, by gaining a complete victory over them.

At the same time the people of Friseland, Saxony, and Bavaria, the neighbours, allies, or subjects of France, became dangerous by their laxity or their inconstancy, or formidable by their courage. At this time a strange people was seen to penetrate from the back settlements, which form at this day the kingdom of Hungary*, as far as Rhetia. Their object was undoubtedly to penetrate to Italy. They advanced to St. Gothard, but were surrounded and beat in a desert near the Convent of Dissentis, by the inhabitants of the countries, who knew the paths of the

* This is the most probable origin of the people who appeared A. D. 671, under the name of *Huns*.

mountains. Meanwhile, the countries whence these people came, were the rendezvous of other savage races, who threatened the western empire. From these circumstances the French detached themselves more and more from the Merovingians, and the Mayor of the Palace gained their confidence. He made one war succeed another, to shine the more at the head of an army. When at peace, he augmented his power as Viceroy, by indulgences and benefits. He died A. D. 741.

In A. D. 751, two hundred and eighteen years after Gondemar had lost the throne of the Burgundians, and two hundred and sixty-eight after Clovis had reigned over the French, Pepin, the Mayor of the Palace, son of Charles Martel, was gratified by the crown taken from Clovis' posterity. He enjoyed his usurpation eighteen years.

His son, Charlemagne, succeeded A. D. 768, having, as it is suspected, abridged the days of his brother Carloman, to whom the kingdom was jointly left by Pepin, their father. Never did Prince efface by so much glory the recollec-

tion of the crimes to which he had been impelled by his ambition: never was the apology made by a government so wise. The extraordinary vigour of his genius procured him the throne of the Lombards, the empire of Rome, the sovereignty of Germany. His arms and his prudence kept under the same rule the people of Europe, from the ocean to Hungary; from the Tibre to the Elbe. He knew not adversity but in the interior of his family, a just punishment for the misfortune to which he had devoted the family of his brother. When he ceased to live, we might say that his superior genius, which he had so much abused, separated itself for ever from his race. We see weakness and crime dishonour by turns his descendants; children incessantly armed against their fathers, and brothers against brothers; the paternal authority fallen to the ground; sons a prey to curses; the empire become a sport, and the spoil of pirates; his sons consumed with grief; his grandsons deprived of their sight, tormented by remorse, victims of poison in the midst of opprobrium and indigence, fugitives, prisoners, oppressed;

and after a century and a half of reverses, chased from the throne, and plunged into obscurity. For sixty years the Carlovingians were rendered powerful in their place of Mayors of the Palace: they had, at the price of much blood, maintained on the throne the eclat of their name for a long interval: and when all nations had their eyes fixed on them, a fall more frightful than that of the Merovingians, was the term of their elevation *

Louis le Debonnaire, the son of Charlemagne, died 23d June, 840. By his first wife, Hermengarde de Sundgaw, he had three sons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis. By his second wife, Judith, daughter of Weefon, of Bavaria, he had one son, Charles le Chauve. Louis associated Lothaire in the empire with him, and gave him the kingdom of Italy: he gave Aquitaine to Pepin, and Bavaria to Louis, each with the title of king. Charles was scarce born, when his mother was impatient that he might have a partition of the inheritance. Louis had none remaining to give; but he divided off a portion, under the title of

* Muller. Histoire de Suisses, ii. 4.

Rhetia, which gave great offence to the elder brothers. Pepin rebelled: the Empress fell into the hands of the insurgents. To obtain her liberty she promised to engage the King to become a monk. Louis consented to become so for a time. Lothaire on his return from Italy joined the conspiracy, and shut up his father in a monastery. The Empress was also shut up in a convent. The monks sowed discord among the brothers, and procured the King's liberation. The sons rebelled again: Louis was shut up again in the Abbey of St. Medard de Soissons, and submitted to numerous indignities and inflictions. Pepin and Louis relented: they intreated Lothaire to release their father: he was obstinate: they took up arms: Lothaire seeing himself abandoned in his turn, left the King free at St. Denis. Louis resumed the sceptre: he forgave Lothaire, who was obliged to implore his clemency; this was granted on condition of shutting himself up in Italy, and never again appearing in France.

Lothaire, however, was recalled; and recalled by the Empress Judith, who had received

marks of hatred from Pepin, now re-established in Aquitaine, of which she had despoiled him, and could not rely on Louis, King of Bavaria, who would not separate himself from Pepin. Lothaire was their enemy; he owed to her his re call to France, and his reconciliation to his father.

Pepin died before his father, leaving two sons, Pepin and Charles. Two parties divided Aquitaine: one wished to place on the throne young Pepin; the other, his uncle, Charles le Chauve. The Emperor appeared in arms on the part of Charles, whom he placed in possession of the sceptre.

This was the last injustice which the Empress caused Louis to commit. His son, the King of Bavaria, again took up arms. The Emperor, desolate, ill, seeing no end to the chagrins which his fatal condescension to his wife was always preparing for him, hastened to reduce his rebel son. A defluxion on the chest, an oppression on the heart, the fright from an eclipse of the sun operating on his superstitious mind, terminated his days at Ingelheim, the place of Charlemagne's nativity, A. D. 840.

The people whom he had subdued or restrained, seeing the feebleness of his sons, and the divisions of his grandsons, inundated the empire on all sides, and avenged themselves of their defeats, or their forced inaction. The three brothers and the nephew, two on each side, now quarrelled for the division of the inheritance, and fought the disastrous battle of Fontenay, near Auxerre, 25th June, 841. The advantage rested with Louis and Charles. They shewed some sentiment of humanity, some regret at this sad fruit of their quarrels. To spare the continuance of this horrible and usage carnage, they now left the partition to the arbitration of one hundred and twenty French chiefs, who divided into three equal parts all, except the kingdoms of Bavaria, Italy, and Aquitaine, which were considered already fixed.

Charles le Chauve had, under the name of Western France, a great part of that which composes France at this day.

Louis had Germany, and thence had the name of Louis *le Germanique*.

Lothaire, with the title of Emperor, Italy

and Provence, which he had already, had the territories situated between the Scheldt, the Meuse, the Rhine, and the Saone: that is to say, the kingdom of Lorraine.

Lothaire abandoned young Pepin; but he did not abandon himself. He gained a battle against Charles le Chauve, and maintained himself in Aquitaine. But his debauchery, his oppressions, and his vices, did him more injury than the arms of his enemies. He became odious to his subjects, who delivered him up to Charles. He was then shut up in the monastery of St. Medard. He was retaken, and guarded so strictly in the castle of Senlis, that it was impossible for him to save himself. His younger brother, Charles, was obliged to take the tonsure, and became at last Archbishop of Mayence.

Lothaire quitted the imperial purple, and retired to the monastery of Prune. His death soon followed his abdication. He left three sons: 1. Louis, whom he had for some time associated with him in the empire, and to whom he gave the kingdom of Italy; 2. Lothaire, whom he made King of Lorraine; and, 3. Charles, to

whom he gave Provence, and a part of the kingdom of Burgundy. This last lived a tranquil life in his kingdom of Provence, without taking any part in the affairs of his brothers or his uncles. Lothaire leagued himself principally with his uncle, Charles le Chauve; and Louis, with his other uncle, Louis le Germanique, but without espousing their quarrels.

Lothaire became embroiled with the Pope, for divorcing his first wife, Thietberge, and taking another, Valdrade, sister of Gontier, Archbishop of Cologne. This drew him to Rome. He fell a victim to the Pope's despotic terrors over his conscience: sickness seized him, and he died at Plaisance before his return. His brother Charles died too soon after him to profit of his inheritance.

Charles le Chauve, in spite of the remaining nephew, Louis, possessed himself of Lorraine.

This Louis, the Emperor, died without issue male, in 875, not long after his brothers. His daughter, Ermengarde, married Boson, King of Arles, or Burgundy Trans-jurane.

His two uncles, Louis le Germanique, and

Charles le Chauve, contested the possession of the empire. Louis sent his eldest son, Carloman, to Italy: Charles went himself. By promises, intrigues, and bribes, Charles succeeded. The Pope conferred the empire in sovereignty; and Charles received it as a vassal.

Louis prepared himself for vengeance; but he died 28th August, 876, aged about seventy years. He left three sons, Carloman, Louis, and Charles, (afterwards Charles le Gros.)

Charles le Chauve was crowned at Rome by the Pope Christmas Day, 875.

Carloman had Bavaria, and Pannonia: and by the authority of the will of the Emperor, Louis, took the title of King of Italy.

Louis had Franconia.

Charles le Gros had the rest of Germany.

Carloman advanced to Italy. Charles took fright: Carloman took fright in his turn. But Charles died in the passage of the Alpes, 5th or 6th October, 877: some say, poisoned by a Jew physician.

This Charles le Chauve possessed the western part of Helvetia, called *La Petite Bourgogne;*

and this afterwards passed to his brother Lothaire, Emperor and King of Italy, who married Theutberge, daughter of Boson, Count of Burgundy. Lothaire united *La Petite Bourgogne* to Provence, and to all that was between the Rhone, the Saone, the Meuse, and the Scheldt.

The Carlovingians became too feeble to hold the sceptre that had descended to them.

The Burgundians wanted a chief who had their confidence. They offered the crown to Boson, son of Bovon, Count of the Ardennes, who had Hermengarde, daughter of the Emperor, Louis *le Begue*, and whose sister, Richelde, was wife, or mistress, of Charles *le Chauve*.

This was the grand signal of the dismemberment of the monarchy founded by Charlemagne. Charles *le Gros*, who had attempted to reunite this monarchy, was deposed and abandoned; and died in misery and oblivion without children, A. D. 888. The Germans chose for their king, Arnoul, bastard son of his brother, the Emperor Carloman. France conferred the sceptre on Hugh, Count de Paris. The Italians crowned Guy, Duke of Spoletto.

Boson formed his dominions of that part of Burgundy, which joined to Provence, constituted the kingdom of ARLES. But a new Prince founded in Burgundy a rival throne out of that part called *High Burgundy*. This was RODOLPH, son of Conrad, a relation of the Emperor, Lothaire.

The limits of these two kingdoms, of which the latter took the greater part of Helvetia, cannot perhaps be stated after so long an extinction, without much care and research. The kings of Burgundy fixed their ordinary residence at Geneva.

LETTER III.

Ferney---Voltaire

10*th August*, 1819.

ON the 24th of May, of this year, 1819, I visited FERNEY. I had not raised my fancy, with regard to this celebrated villa of VOLTAIRE: it was therefore better than I expected.

Two rooms only were shewn: his common sitting-room, beyond the vestibule: and his bedroom adjoining. Each was small, and unattractive. Three or four bad pictures were in the first: two or three portraits, with a few common prints of heads of Literati, were in the other.

The garden behind was, according to the country, merely decent. There was not a single feature in the whole congenial to what may have been supposed to be the taste of genius. According to English ideas, it was flat, insipid, and

mean. Coppet disappointed me: Ferney is far inferior to Coppet.

Monsieur Budé, of Geneva, the proprietor, who bought it of Voltaire's niece, has resided here for upwards of thirty years. We were told that his family possessed it before Voltaire's time, and that the present possessor *rebought* the family inheritance.

Voltaire, before he bought Ferney, occupied a chateau, called *Les Delices*, on the Lyons road, within half a mile of Geneva. This house, elevated above the city, commands a noble view of the lake, far above the tops of all the buildings.

Voltaire's character is set in an horrible, but, (as I conceive) just light, in *Vie Politique, Litteraire, et Morale de Voltaire, où l' on réfute Condorcet et ses autres historiens, en citant et rapprochant un grand nombre de faits inconnus et tres-curieux.* Par M. Le Pan. *Paris*, 1817. 8vo. pp. 329.

Of his genius it would be scarcely fair in me to pronounce a decided opinion, as I have not read half his works, and not any with more than a superficial attention. They were never to my

taste; and I should have rather have said of them something like what is said by Le Pan in the two extracted judgments.

Le Pan says:

"Les partisans de Voltaire n' ont pas hésité à lui reconnoitre beaucoup de génie; d' autres, moins enthousiastes, en lui accordant un esprit supérieur, lui ont contesté le génie.

"Qu'est ce que le génie, a dit d'Olivet dans sa réponse au discours que Voltaire prononça lors de la réception à l' académie? C'est un feu dont les âmes communes n'ont jamais senti l'ardeur, mais qui s'allume indépendamment de nous, et s'éteint de même; c'est une lumière étincelante, mais qui ne se montre qu' à certaines heures, pour être bientôt remplacée par un nuage; c'est une douce fureur plus ou moins durable, plus ou moins fréquente; c'est l'ivresse de l'esprit comme toute passion est l'ivresse du cœur. En un mot, le génie est pour les beaux-arts, mais pour l'épopée sur-tout, ce qu'est le soleil pour la terre: tout est produit, échauffé, vivifié, embelli, par le soleil, et c'est pareillement au génie qu'il appartient d'enfanter des vers ou il y ait de l'âme, d'en bannir la stérilité, le froid, la sécheresse; d'inventer, de varier, d'orner, et de faire enfin que l'art, fidele imitateur de la nàture présente toujours l'agréable avec l'utile, le beau avec le bon, le gracieux avec le solide."

"Si l'homme de génie en littérature, a écrit aSbbatier de Castres, est celui-là seul qui a reculé les bornes d'un

art, M. de Voltaire, qui n'a pas été plus loin ni si loin qu' Homère, Virgil et le Tasse dans l'épopée; que l' Arioste dans la poésie heroique, que Corneille, Racine dans la tragédie; Molière dans la comédie; Quinault dans l'opéra; Jean-Baptiste Rousseau dans la poésie lyrique; M. de Voltaire, dis-je, ne seroit jamais placé au rang des hommes de génie que par l'enthousiasme et la mauvaise foi. Si, dans les sciences, le grand homme est celui-là seul qui a un caractère décidé, des principes fixes, un système suivi de raisons ou d'idées, qui osera soutenir que M. de Voltaire merite ce titre? Quel écrivain s' inquiéta moins que lui de mettre de l'unité et de la suite dans ses conceptions? Il est aisé de remarquer dans tout ce qu'il a écrit l'inspiration du moment, les variations de l'humeur, l'inconstance des affections, la différence des intérêts. De là vient qu'on ne le trouve jamais le même, qu'il a changé de façon de penser suivant les circonstances, que le pour et le contre se débattent dans la collection de ses œuvres, qu'il détruit et qu'il édifie, qu'il decide, et qu'il rétracte, et qu' après avoir passé par toutes les nuances, il finit par être sans couleur et sans forme déterminée. En effet, je défie, quiconque lira ses écrits avec quelque réflexion, de trouver une seule opinion, qu'il n'ait tour-à-tour approuvée et combattue, aucun système qu'il n'ait réfuté et défendu."

We may ask: Was Voltaire a creator?—If he was, what sort of a creator?

A lively understanding; a talent for bons

mots; a quick sense of the ridiculous; a clearness of apprehension; a lightness, a transparency, and an elegance of expression; a dexterity of dialogue; a rapidity of plausible logic;—if sometimes by their united excellence, they may be deemed to rise to the character of genius; yet cannot be allowed to be genius of more than an inferior cast.

The surest road to literary popularity, as far as *matter* is concerned, is a ton of sentiment sufficiently low for the sympathy of those who are engaged in the daily debasement of the conflicts of practical life. When this is set off by skill in the use of words: when these words exhibit all the finish, without any part of the recondite and over-laboured ornaments, of literature: when they are smoothed down, (as men's diction is,) by perpetual collision in society; and yet retain something of that grace, which the arts of composition, and the leisure of the closet, can confer;—it never fails to be the delight of the mob, of all ranks.

If the literary merit gives a plausibility to the approbation, there are no bounds to the

triumph which these mobs feel, in elevating the idol who flatters their propensities, and seems to stamp with the character of superior credit, or sound sense, the terror of opinions, and mode of reasonings, which their narrow and selfish experience, or bad principle, prompts them to adopt.

He, to whose heart every noble sentiment is a stranger, is delighted to join in affixing the charge of hypocrisy on every one who speaks of the influence of such emotions.

That Voltaire had a bad heart, will scarcely be denied: that he was under the constant dominion of the meanest passions: that envy, jealousy, revenge; avarice, vanity, pride, were indulged, in the fullest swing, without compunction: that, judging by himself, he could not believe any one actuated by other motives than his own interest or gratification, are well known. That, Nature having endowed him with great acuteness of faculties, and his bent leading him to apply them in detecting the foibles and evil thoughts (however disguised) of others, he incessantly profited of the insight he thus possessed, not only to degrade to the lowest point his

opinions of mankind; but to play off every artifice, which his ungenerous wits suggested, in turning these delinquencies to his own account, is too apparent from the whole course of his actions.

Brilliant talents thus furnished, and thus applied, endowed by Nature with the means, and by vanity with the desire, to become master of all the skill that literary accomplishments could give, were weapons which supplied him with a sort of Satanic power over the understandings and the hearts of the tumultuous mass of human beings, who, in the compunctious visitings which all, not utterly lost, feel occasionally at the submission to passions and principles repugnant to probity, generosity, and mutual well-being, hailed as their consoler One, whose false splendor gilded their turpitude with rays, which made them mistake it for wisdom and truth.

LETTER IV.

Rousseau.

13th August, 1819.

THERE are parts of a man's life, which no other can write so well as himself. Such parts as others have cognizance of, they will do better than he can do

Nothing seems more clear, than that Providence has formed mankind with every variety of power, mental and corporeal, for every variety of the purposes of human life: and that it has decreed the expansion of these powers to depend on an equal variety of circumstances. Yet Genius breaks out under circumstances apparently the most unfavourable: and often dies away under those apparently the most calculated to nourish it. How unpropitious did the incidents of ROUSSEAU's early life seem to the emer-

gence of that brilliance, which at length shone on the world! Without a regular education: brought up to a mechanical employment: living among profligate adventurers: uncertain of the means of subsistence: what time does he appear to have had for the cultivation of such refined talents? for the nurture of sentiments so exquisitely refined? for an habitual intercourse with those ideal pleasures, for which none but the idle and luxurious have leisure?

But it is said, that his sensibilities and his fancies not only amount too frequently to excess; but often sallied into depravity. So, alas, it was! Sad example of the danger of these envied and enviable gifts! Let not the refined, but more temperate reader, be too sure of his superiority, or too proud of his virtue! He, who drinks at the spring, may choose his sufficiency, and reject what he wants not! The spring, which is to supply thousands, will sometimes be left to waste itself in useless or dangerous ebullitions!

Rousseau's CONFESSIONS have been admired, and justly criticised; and with too much reason condemned.

There is implanted in us an unconquerable desire to be thought well of by our fellow-creatures, both while living and after death.

He who feels a certain conviction that in his heart there springs up a continual stream of noble sentiments and generous emotions, of a nature too refined to be communicated but to the lonely reader when freed from the corrupting influence of society, and raised into the purity of mental abstraction---is desirous to procure the esteem to which these secret virtues entitle him, by communicating them to the world.

Admitting that the *Confessions* of Rousseau originated in peculiar and complicated motives, this appears to have been at least one of them. These *Confessions* are, it is true, in many parts, the result of an insane and terrible imagination. They exhibit an audacious kind of nakedness, for which no just apology can be found. They degrade Genius, and stagger Virtue, by occasional virtue, and by occasional instances of unblushing and appalling profligacy. They offer the most dangerous poison by connecting unpardonable depravity with bursts of exquisite sen-

sibility, overwhelming eloquence, and seductive genius.

It is difficult to reconcile to our minds the gradations of mental process, by which he could have brought himself to the resolution of exposing to the world, unbidden, these dark spots in his character. It is probable that they had haunted his morbid fancy for a long series of years: he could not conceal them from himself: he thought that he could not conceal them from the world. Crimes will out! We feel that we have discharged ourselves of part of the poignancy of remorse, when we have told them. He sought in the self-drawn picture of redeeming virtues, to set himself right to himself and to the world.

At once timid and audacious, sensitive and hardy---what a striking and pre-eminent instance of human inconsistency!

LETTER V.

Chillon---Meillerie.

14*th August*, 1819.

THE notice of the English has of late been particularly drawn to the Castle of CHILLON, by Lord Byron's muse. It stands on the east bank of the lake, between Vevay and Villeneuve. It was built by Peter Count of Savoy, who died here June 7, 1268. His corpse was carried to the family vault, in the monastery of Hautecombe.

Before he attained the sovereignty of Savoy, he had lived much in England, and been enriched there by the patronage of King Henry III. who had married his niece Leonore. The king built for him an hotel at Westminster, called thence to this day, *The Savoy*. It is close to Somerset House: and was used till last year, as

a military prison. I believe that part at least of the remains are now removed, to make way for the entrance to Waterloo Bridge. He had also a grant of the County of Richmond, the Lordship of Essex, and many other lands. At one time, when he was about to re-embark for the Continent, the king recalled him, and forced him to accept the government of Dover Castle.* He left a daughter, Beatrix, married to Guy, Dauphin de Viennois. He succeeded his nephew, Count Boniface, who died without issue; and was born at the Chateau of Suse, in Piedmont, in 1203; being seventh son of Thomas Count de Maurienne, by Marguerite de Faussigny.

Chillon stands on a rock, or little promontory, jutting into the lake. A fair idea of its situation and form, is given in the slight engrav-

* "Le Comte Pierre illustré par ses belles qualités, et par son credit dans plusieurs cours, sur-tout dans celle d'Angleterre, acquit de grands domaines dans le pays de *Vaud*, et le bas Valais, par des conquêtes et par des achats; c'est sous ce Prince que commença la domination des Comtes de Savoie dans ces pays et dans l'Helvetie Allemande."---*Mallet. Hist. des Suisses*, i. 157.

ing annexed to the Lausanne edition of *The Prisoners of Chillon*, 1818, 8vo. The short note at the end of the poem, descriptive of this edifice, and its position, is very accurate.

The Alpine rocks of Meillerie, on the opposite bank of the lake, are beautifully and truly drawn by Rousseau.

"Ce lieu solitaire formoit un reduit sauvage et désert, mais plein de ces sortes de beautés qui ne plaisent qu'aux ames sensibles, et paroissent horribles aux autres. Un torrent formé par la fonte des neiges rouloit à vingt pas de nous une eau bourbeuse, et charioit avec bruit du limon, du sable, et des pierres. Derriere nous une chaine des roches inaccéssibles séparoit l'esplanade où nous étious de cette partie des Alpes qu'on nomme les Glaciers, parceque d'énormes sommets de glaces qui s' accroissent incessamment les couvrent depuis le commencement du monde. Des forêts de noirs sapius nous ombrageoient tristement à droite. Un grand bois de chênes étoit à gauche au-delà du torrent, et au-dessous de nous cette immense plaine d'eau que le lac forme au sein des Alpes nous séparoit des riches côtes du pays de Vaud, dont la cime du majestueux Jura couronnoit le tableau.

"Au milieu de ces grands et superbes objets, le petit terrain où nous étious étaloit les charmes d'un sejour riant et champêtre; quelques ruisseaux filtroient a travers les rochers, et rouloient sur la verdure en filets de crystal;

quelques arbres fruitiers sauvages penchoient leurs têtes sur les nôtres; la terre humide et fraiche étoit couverte d' herbe et de fleurs. En comparant un si doux séjour aux objets qui l'environnoient, il sembloit que ce lieu désert dût être l'asile de deux amants échappés seuls au bouleversement de la nature."*

* Nouvelle Heloise. Tom. III. Lettre XVII.

LETTER VI.

Kingdom of Burgundy.

14*th August*, 1819.

I RESUME the history I had dropped with the second.

Rodolph I. the son of Conrad, a relation of the Emperor Lothaire, who had in consequence of that alliance been appointed Governor of Burgundy Trans-jurane, was afterwards proclaimed king at St. Maurice, in Valais, and reigned twenty-four years. His son, Rodolph II. King of Burgundy Trans-jurane, reunited in A. D. 911, to the same crown, the kingdom of Burgundy Cis-jurane, or Arles, by compromise with Hugh, King of Arles, who had chased from that throne Charles Constantin, (son of Louis, King of Arles, and grandson of King Boson.) Hugh surrendered it in compromise for

Rodolph's assistance in gaining him the kingdom of Italy*.

Rodolph II. married Berthe, daughter of Burcard, Duke of Suabia, who remarried Hugh, King of Italy. He died A. D. 938. His daughter Adelaide, married for her second husband, Otto II. the Emperor.

Conrad, *le Pacifique*, succeeded his father, Rodolph II. in the crown of Burgundy. He married Matilda, daughter of Louis *d'Outremer*, King of France, and (besides two natural children, Burckard, Archbishop of Lyons, and Matilda, wife of Baldwin, Earl of Flanders,) had a son, Rodolph, and three daughters, Gisele, Berthe, and Gerberge.

Gisele married 1st, Henry, Duke of Bavaria, by whom she had Gisele, married to Conrad *le Salique*, Emperor of Germany, father by her

* Hugh was King of Italy, A. D. 926-947. He was son of Theobald, Count de Provence, by Berthe, daughter of the Emperor Lothaire; who, in her widowhood, remarried Adalbert II. Duke of Tuscany. King Hugh associated with him in the crown of Italy, his son Lothaire, who married Adelaide, daughter of Rodolph II. King of Burgundy, remarried to Otto II. *(le Grand,)* Emperor of Germany.

of Henry III. Emperor, who, after the death of Rodolph III. obtained Burgundy Trans-jurane. Gisele remarried Stephen, King of Hungary.

Berthe married Odo I. Count of Champagne, mother of Odo, Count of Champagne, who disputed the succession of Burgundy Trans-jurane with his cousin Henry of Bavaria, and died 1032; father of Stephen, Count of Champagne; father of Thibaud, Count of Champagne, who died 1151; father of Henry, Count of Champagne; father of Thibaud, Count of Champagne, who died 1201; father of Thibaud, Count of Champagne, the celebrated troubadour, who died 1269; father of Henry, Count of Champagne, and King of Navarre, who died 1274, &c.

Gerberge, the third daughter, married, 1. Herman, Duke of Suabia; 2. the Count of Vienne; 3. Henry, Duke of Burgundy, beyond the Saone.

Rodolph III. called *Le Faineant*, last King of Burgundy, died in 1032. Factions, disorders, anarchy, attended his reign; and all orders of the State, especially the clergy and the nobility, rendered themselves independent *. He named

* See Mallet's Histoire des Suisses, i. 129.

his cousin, the Emperor Henry II. for his successor. This second kingdom of Burgundy therefore, only endured for a century and a half. It was more than six centuries since the Burgundians passed the Rhine, and founded in Gaul the first kingdom of the name. These Burgundians, thus sprung from Germany, gave the name, which is retained to this day, of *Low* and *High* Burgundy, to the country of the Allobroges, (viz. Savoy, Dauphinè, and Lyons,) and West Switzerland.

The Counts of Champagne did not give up this beautiful inheritance without a struggle. Count Odo ravaged the part of Helvetia called Burgundy Trans-jurane, penetrated to Vienne on the Rhone, and had himself crowned under the title of King of Arles.

The Emperor was not idle: among other steps he marched to Geneva, where he made Count Gerold open the gates to him, and where he was acknowledged King of Burgundy in an assembly of bishops and lay lords, and was crowned by the hands of the Archbishop of Milan. Thence the Count of Champagne made but feeble efforts to oppose him.

The Emperor assembled the States, and maintained order and the public safety in this vast country, which extended from Bâle, to the point where the Rhone discharges its waters into the Mediterranean. Over this realm he made himself beloved and respected by the wisdom of his government.

Helvetia and Rhetia had now therefore become altogether provinces of the empire. Feuds and divisions followed in the empire: and Helvetia, placed between Italy and Germany, peculiarly felt the effects of them. The minority of Henry IV. (son of Henry III.) gave full scope for these divisions. The Counts of Hapsbourg got possession of the Duchy of Suabia. "They were," says Mallet, "powerful from their possessions in the environs of the Jura, and still more ambitious than powerful." Count Rodolph of Hapsbourg, had married a sister of the Emperor; but he did not the less aspire to the imperial crown. A civil war ensued. Rodolph took up arms; but was subdued. The Duchy of Suabia was forfeited, and given to Frederic *de Hohenstauffen*, with the hand of the Emperor's sister,

Agnes. The son of Rodolph disputed with Frederic, Suabia, as a part of his patrimony. This rival died; but the Count de Zæringen, his brother-in-law, claimed it for himself. A compromise took place. The Count of Zæringen gave up Suabia; but retained the Brisgau, the Black Forest, and the patronage of Zurich, with the imperial power over that city and province. Hence the happy dominion of the House of Zæringen began to extend itself over a considerable part of Helvetia.

The Houses of Hapsbourg, Zæringen, Baden, and Lorraine, are understood to have all come from the same male stock. They are all derived from Ethicon, Count de Nordgaw, who died A. D. 720, son of Adalric, Duke of Alsace, who died A. D. 690. Hugh I. Count de Nordgaw, seventh in descent from Ethicon, died A. D. 940. His son, Eberhard IV. had issue, Albert, ancestor of the House of Lorraine, now emperors. His other son, Gontram *le Riche*, who died A. D. 970, was father of Lancelin, whose son Rodolph was father of Rudeboton, builder of the Castle of Hapsbourg, and whose fourth son, Birchtilon,

was ancestor of the Houses of Zæringen and Baden.

The Dukes of Zæringen took the name from the Castle of Zæringen, of which the ruins may yet be seen on one of the summits of the Black Forest. Berthod, Count de Brisgau, who is first known to have taken the name of Zæringen, occurs in charters of A. D. 999, and 1004. Berthod I. obtained the title of Duke from the Emperor Henry III. He died 1077.

His younger son, Herman,* was ancestor of the House of Baden.

From Conrad, Duke de Zæringen, descended Berthold IV. Duke de Zæringen, who died 1185. His son, Berthold V. last Duke of Zæringen, died 14th February, 1218, and was interred at St. Pierre, in the Black Forest. His sister, Agnes, married Egon, Count d' Aurach, in Suabia; and his sister, Anne, married the Count de Kibourg.

When the Emperor Henry V. son of Henry IV. died, and the imperial crown passed from his House, Renaud, Count Palatine of High Bur-

* Herman II. died about 1130.

gundy, refused homage to Lothaire II. his successor of the House of Saxe. The Emperor put him under the ban of the empire, and he was condemned as a rebel. The Diet softened the sentence. He lost part of his territories to the west of the Jura, and preserved Franche*-Comtè. All the rest, on the other side of the Jura, and to the east of that chain of mountains, was given to Conrad, Duke of Zæringen, who was also possessor of Zurich; and now united under his authority a great part of Switzerland of this day, and governed it under the title of *Rector,* or *Regent of Burgundy Trans-jurane.*

After the death of the Emperor, Lothaire II. rose the two celebrated factions of the *Guelphes,* and *Gibelins:* the latter the adherents of the House of Suabia, or Franconia: the former of the House of Saxony. The Duke of Zæringen was of the former party; and Frederic, Duke of Suabia, therefore chased him from his estates, took possession of the Castle of Zæringen, of

* It has been conjectured that hence it derived its name; because the States of the Empire allowed it to retain its Franchises. *Mallet,* i. 141.

Zurich, &c. and made him submit, and swear homage. His son, Berthold IV. reconciled himself to Frederic, when the latter became Emperor, under the name of Frederic I. *(Barbe-rousse.)* Frederic gave him the patronage of the three Bishoprics of Lausanne, Geneva, and Sion; but took from him whatever he possessed on the west of the Jura. The Duke ceded the patronage of the church of Geneva, to Amedé, Count *de Genevois*, who, under that name, governed a great part of the Pays de *Vaud* of this day.

The great vassals of the empire submitted with regret to the Dukes of Zæringen: the lesser noblesse on the contrary preferred to hold of them, because they shewed less rigour and pride than the great. These dukes used all possible means to favour the one, and restrain the other. For this purpose they built cities, and established colonies of faithful subjects, from the Rhine and the Brisgau, or of strangers from the German provinces. Thus Duke Conrad built the cities of Yverdun and Morges. Berthold IV. founded Fribourg. The privileges he conferred, drew many inhabitants to this new city. Berthold V.

fortified the cities of Berthould and Moudon: and at length built the city of BERNE. Multitudes flocked to it, to enjoy the privileges of the empire, and the protection of an equitable and powerful prince. Such was the origin of Berne, which afterwards became the most powerful republic of Helvetia. Berthold, who merited by his useful establishments, and the wisdom of his government, the esteem of his cotemporaries, was offered the imperial crown on the death of Henry VI. but wisely declined it, at a period when its authority was uncertain and disputed.

This duke governed twenty years: with his death, in 1218, the dukes expired. They were the most powerful chiefs of Helvetia. After them were the Counts of Burgundy, of Savoy, of Hapsbourg, and of Kibourg. The Counts of Rapperschwyl, of Tokenbourg, and of Neuchatel, were scarcely inferior to them. Among the prelates were distinguished the bishops of Lausanne, Sion, Bâle, Coire, and the Abbot of St. Gall.

The extinction of the House of Zæringen, contributed to elevate the Counts of Savoy in the middle of Helvetia.

LETTER VII.

Dukes of Burgundy---Counts Palatine of Burgundy.

15*th August*, 1819.

WHEN the kingdom of Arles was reunited to that of High Burgundy, Richard, (brother of King Boson,) who was Duke of the province of Burgundy, of which Dijon is the capital, retained that dukedom, and transmitted it to his posterity. It afterwards came to Hugh le Grand, father of Hugh Capet. In 1035, Henry, King of France, gave it to his brother, Robert, with whose descendants it remained to Philip de Rouvres, the last duke of this line, when reverting to the crown of France, it was conferred by King John, on Philip, his third son, who died 1404; and was succeeded by his son, John, Duke of Burgundy, who died 1419; and was succeeded by his son, Duke Philip *le Bon*, who died 1467;

and was succeeded by his son, Duke Charles *le Temeraire,* a name so marked in the history of Switzerland, by his defeat at the battle of *Granson,* a second time at *Morat*, and by the loss of his life at the siege of Nancy, in 1477, aged forty-four. His sole daughter and heir, Mary, married in the same year, Maximilian, Emperor of Germany, and died in 1483, at the age of twenty-six.

But when the kingdom of Rodolph III. last king of Burgundy, was broke to pieces, *High* Burgundy (or Franche-Comtè) fell to the Emperors of Germany, who appointed Counts Palatine over this province of High Burgundy. Renaud*, Count Palatine of Burgundy, who died 1057, was son of Otto Guillaume, Count of Besancon, the capital of Franche-Comtè, who was son of Adelbert, Marquis of Ivree, son of Berenger II. King of Italy, son of Adelbert, Marquis of Ivree, by Emengarde, daughter of

* Mallet says it was not without difficulty that the Emperor Henry III. obliged this powerful vassal to pay homage to him. He afterwards espoused his niece, Agnes, and their enmity ceased.

Adelbert II. Duke of Tuscany, by Berthe, sister to Louis III. Emperor, and King of Arles.

Renaud, Count Palatine of Burgundy, who died 1057, was father of William II. Count of Burgundy, who died 1087; father of Renaud II. Count of Burgundy, who died 1099; father of Renaud III. Count of Burgundy, who died 1107; father of William IV. Count of Burgundy, assassinated at Payerne, 1126. His daughter and heir, was wife of Frederic I. *(Barberousse,)* Emperor. Their younger son, Otto-William, became Count Palatine of Burgundy, and left a daughter and heir, Beatrix, married to Otto, Duke of Merania, who died 1248. This Duke had possession of such parts of the County Palatine of Burgundy, as surrounded Besancon. His daughter, Alice, married John de Chalons, (son of Stephen, who had disputed with him the possession of this County Palatine, and who was younger brother of this Renaud II.) The issue of this marriage was Hugh de Chalons, Count Palatine of Burgundy. Their eldest son, Otto, succeeded as Count Palatine of Burgundy. He died 1303. His daughter, Jane, carried

this Palatinate in marriage to Philip V. *le Long*, afterwards King of France, who died 1322.

The perpetual confusion which the recurrence of the names of these Counts Palatine of High Burgundy, (or Franche-Comtè,) intermixed with those of the dukes of the adjoining province of Burgundy, causes to readers of the history of these parts, has induced me to deem it worth the trouble to enter into these details.

LETTER VIII.

History of Savoy.

St. Gervais, in Savoy, 1st Oct. 1819.

THE Alpes separate Italy from SAVOY, which extends from the feet of these mountains to the lake of Geneva: and below the lake, extends to the banks of the Rhone, near which, at the distance of twenty-three leagues and a half from Geneva, lies Chambery, the capital of this Duchy. Savoy was anciently part of the country of the *Allobroges.*

The picturesque beauties of this wild and mountainous Principality, defy the powers of language. The magnificence of Mont-Blanc, the highest mountain in Europe, eternally covered with snow; the sublime scenery of roaring torrents bursting through the chasms of tremendous rocks; profound vallies shut in by declivities

generally inaccessible, yet covered with the richest wood, springing even out of the rocks themselves; cottages, and villages, and churches, every where scattered, as if to embellish the views in the happiest manner; rich meadows, enlivened by herds and flocks; swelling slopes of green herbage, which often runs up almost to the summits of the mountains; noble trees rising every where in profusion, as if the hand of art and pinch of poverty had never disturbed them: these are features of grandeur, which verbal description must always give a vague and inadequate idea of!

It was over this sublime country that the present ROYAL HOUSE OF SAVOY obtained their sovereignty early in the eleventh century. Humbert I. surnamed *Aux Blanches Mains,* chief of Maurienne *, one of the Feudatories of the ancient

* Maurienne is an ancient Province of the Duchy of Savoy, which, in the late empire of Bonaparte, formed one of the departments of Mont-Blanc. It is composed of a long valley, traversed through all its length of twenty leagues by the river Arcq; of which the direction is from *Aiguebelle,* its ancient capital, to St. Jean, from north to south. The Saracens wasted Maurienne twice at the commencement, and end of the tenth century.

kingdom of Burgundy, who, on the death of Rodolph III. the last king, became by his testament one of the Members of the Germanic Empire, obtained on that occasion the investiture of the sovereignty of a part of Maurienne, the Chablais, and the Low Valais, from the Emperor Conrad le Salique, whose part Humbert took against his competitor for the inheritance of Burgundy, Odo, Earl of Champagne. Humbert was the son of Berold, on whose origin there are great disputes: the favourite opinion is, that he was of the Imperial House of Saxony: he is said to have been a governor under the king of Burgundy, and viceroy of Arles: and many think that he sprung from those kings: Berold is reported in an ancient MS chronicle of Savoy, to have died at Arles in 1027. The death of Humbert I. is placed in 1048: and tradition says that he was interred before the porch of the cathedral church of St. Jean de Maurienne.

The division of the vast empire of Charlemagne into minor sovereignties, had become necessary by the circumstances of the times. The descendants of this great Emperor had left

to the Feudal Chiefs the care of defending their country as they could; and permitted the cities to fortify themselves to repel the attacks, from which themselves were incapable of defending them. Lombardy and Burgundy (of which last Savoy formed a part) were, before the time of the Emperor Conrad le Salique, at the same period tormented by the spirit of party, and a prey to the devastations of the Hungarians and the Saracens, and to the ravages of the pest.

The Hungarians, a barbarous people from Tartary, appeared in Piedmont in 901, and exercised for a long time the most cruel ravages: they seemed to have no other object than to wade in blood; they passed Mont-Cenis, and made a desert of Maurienne.

The Saracens, coming from Spain, from Sicily, and the other islands of the Mediterranean, landed at Nice in 891; they desolated Piedmont and Savoy for more than fifty years. In 940 they despoiled the Abbey of Angaune, (or St. Maurice,) in the Low-Valais, one of the most flourishing and the most numerous of the order of St. Benedict.

Some authors contend that Humbert I. had never any higher authority than that of military commander of the *Marches of Italy*, and that Conrad le Salique exercised absolute authority here in 1038, as appears by a Bull of that date, in which he is spoken of as *Humbertus Comes in pago Savogensi*. At any rate he was not sovereign of the *whole* of Savoy. Two other petty princes shared with him parts of this country: the Counts of Geneva, and the Barons of Faucigny.

The House of Faucigny* were descended from Emerard, a soldier distinguished under the last kings of Burgundy. The proper Barony of Faucigny consisted of that magnificent country lying in the neighbourhood of Mont-Blanc: Servoz, Cluses, Sallenches, Bonneville, &c. Besides this they had the Barony of Beaufort, Hermence, Versoix, and many lordships from Seyssel to Fribourg in Switzerland. This great Barony divided itself into six Baronies of an inferior order.

* Genealogists make the House of Faucigny descend from the brave Oliver, one of the Paladins of Charlemagne.

The territories of the Counts of Geneva extended from the Tillet, a little river near Aix, to the Castle of Troches in Chablais. But the authority of this House was much shorn by the encroachments of the *Prince-Bishops* of Geneva, whom the Emperors made them acknowledge as their sovereigns, and consequently to take investiture of their estates. The Emperor Frederic Barbe-rousse, by a Bull of 1153, made these bishops Princes of the German Empire.

These Prince-Bishops, after the cessions of the Emperors, were sovereigns not only of their episcopal city and its precincts, but also of Peney, Jussy, and Thyez, in Faucigny. The territory of Rumilly in Albanais *, and the jurisdiction of Ternier, was also part of the fiefs dependent on their principality, and enfeoffed by them to the Counts of Geneva, and the Barons of Ternier.

The possessions both of the Counts of Geneva, and of the Barons of Faucigny, at last fell, partly

* Albanais, *Pagus Albanensis*, a district of ancient Savoy, comprehended, under the kings of Burgundy of the second race, all the territory of the city of Rumilly, those of Alby, Albens, Annecy, Talloires, and the valley of Faverges, as far as Marlens.

by alliances, partly by purchase and exchange, with those who inherited them, to the House of Savoy.

Odo, Count de Savoy, son of Humbert I. married Adelaide, heiress of Ulrich Manfroi, last Marquis of Suse; and, thus obtaining the Duchies of Turin and Aost, extended his power over the Alpes. She had been first married to Herman, Duke of Suabia; and secondly, to Henry, Marquis de Montferrat. Odo died in 1609; and she, surviving her three husbands, died very aged, in 1091. Amédée II. Count de Savoy, (for he had an uncle, Amédée I. elder brother to Odo,) succeeded his father, Odo, and died 1094. He obtained of his brother-in-law, the Emperor Henry IV. when that monarch paid him a visit on a journey to Italy, the investiture of Bugey, which, for five hundred years, has made a part of the domain of Savoy. On the same occasion his mother, Adelaide, obtained the infeodation of a great part of the Marquisate of Ivree, on which she had claims through her mother, but which she could not possess without the authority of the Emperor. Amédée II.

married Jane, daughter of Gerold II. Count of Geneva. His son, Humbert II. Count of Savoy, married Gilles, daughter of William II. surnamed *Tete-Hardie*, Count of Burgundy. He died at Moutier, 14th November, 1103. He added the title of *Marquis of Suse*.

BARONS OF FAUCIGNY.

It was a great inconvenience to the House of Savoy, that their dominions were intermixed with a multitude of Strange and Independent Fiefs. But the Counts of Savoy did not fail to render themselves considerable in the midst of surrounding powers. In addition to the Barons of Faucigny, and Counts of Geneva, were the Dukes of Zæringen, the Counts de Kibourg and de Forêts, the Lords of Beaujeu, Coligni, Villars, the Seigneurs de Gex, de la Tour du Pin, and some bishops.

All these petty potentates held of the Germanic Empire; but the distance at which they lived from their Chief, made them pay little attention to him. They were independent one of the other; obliged nevertheless by their weak-

ness to seek mutual aid, they made a common cause against the House of Savoy, the object of their jealousy; and who, on their side, neglected nothing to sow discord among them.

Faucigny is an inclosure, bounded by the Chablais *, the Valley of Aost, and the Tarantese †.

The Barons of Faucigny were more ancient in the Alpes, than the Counts of Maurienne, and had been more powerful. Their common residence was at the Castles (or chateaux) of Marcossey ‡, of Chatillon §, and of Flumet ||, in

* The Chablais is one of the seven provinces of the Duchy of Savoy, and comprehends the delicious plain on the east side of the Lake of Geneva, and the Vallies of Aulps, Abondance, and la Morge.

† The Tarantese is a province of Savoy, of which *Moutiers* was the ancient capital.

‡ Marcossey is an ancient fortified castle in the district of Bonneville. It served anciently to defend the avenues of Cluse, and is situated on this side the Arve, opposite the church of Thy.

§ The ancient castle of Chatillon was the chief place where these Barons resided. At this castle, Agnes, daughter and heir of Aimon, last Baron of Faucigny, was married to Peter, Count de Savoy, in 1233.

|| Flumet is built on the rocks of the banks of the river

Faucigny; and that of Hermance in Chablais. The capital of their Barony was the little city of Cluse, where they held their courts, and where they assembled annually the estates of their province *.

Arly. It was a castle flanked by four towers, of which only the ruins remain. The first Barons of Faucigny resided a part of the year here.

* The Abbey of Sixt was founded by the Barons de Faucigny, in 1144: the Chartreuse of Reposoir, by the same, in 1151; and that of the Daughters of Melan, in 1292. There exists a cession of Faucigny, by Aimon, Lord of this Province, in favour of his son-in-law, Peter, Count of Savoy, of the 13th September, 1261.

LETTER IX.

The Counts of Geneva.

Geneva, 8th October, 1819.

THE heiress of Faucigny having carried her estates to Peter, Count de Savoy, her heiress by him, Beatrix, carried them in marriage to the Dauphin, Guy VII. and thus the Dauphins obtained possessions in the middle of the territories of the House of Savoy.

The Counts of Geneva thus became the natural allies of the Dauphins. The possessions of these Counts of Geneva extended beyond the province which bears their name, (and which was bounded by the three rivers the Arve, the Arli, and the Rhone,) to the mouth of the Guier. They owned the district of Gex, a great part of Bugey, and many detached fiefs in the surround-

ing states. They also pretended to different rights over Geneva, though this city was of the same nature as the free imperial cities, which had multiplied themselves over Piedmont, and who would not acknowledge any superior jurisdiction but that of the Bishops. These Counts took the title of *Advocati Ecclesiæ Gebenensis*, and paid full and entire homage to the Bishop, saving only their fidelity to the Emperor.

These Counts existed from the time of the kings of Burgundy; and even, as is believed, from the time of Charlemagne. Few families could prove an origin so ancient. The Castles of Annecy, la Roche, and Faverges, were the chief seats of their residence.

Many monasteries founded by them have subsisted even to our days: such as the Abbey of Entremonts; the Chartreuse of Pommier; St. Catherine of Annecy, where are to be seen the tombs of their family; Beaumont, in the Pays de Vaud, become the chief seat of a Swiss bailiwick; and, in fine, the Priory of Chamouni, at the foot of Mont-Blanc.

Ame III. 19th Count, who died 1367, mar-

ried Mahaut d' Auvergne, and had three sons, Ame IV. Pierre, and Robert. Ame IV. 20th Count, died without issue at Paris, 1368. He was succeeded by his brother, Robert, known under the name of Pope Clement VII. who took the title of Comte de Genevois in March 1394, but died in September of the same year. His sister, Marie, married to Humbert de Thoire de Villars, pretended a right to the inheritance. Oddo de Villars, uncle of Humbert, having become heir to his nephew, ceded all his rights in the County of Geneva, and all the lands dependant on it, to Amédée VIII. Count of Savoy, by the Treaty of Paris, 5th of August, 1401. This Prince having also bought the rights of Margaret de Joinville, all the rights of the House of Geneva were re-united to those of Savoy; but they were not possessed without opposition till after the Emperor Sigismond gave investiture in 1422.

The estates of the Counts of Geneva were from the Thirteenth Century the objects of aggrandisement of the House of Savoy, who pro-

fitted of all occasions and circumstances to become the absolute masters of them.

Ruinous wars were in consequence for generations carried on between the Counts of Geneva, the Dauphins and Barons of Faucigny, against the House of Savoy.

LETTER X.

General Reflections---Decline and Termination of the Kingdom of Burgundy---Jean Muller---Paul-Henri-Mallet.

Milan, 8th October, 1819.

IT will be necessary to say something more of Faucigny, and the Country and Royal House of Savoy; but I must pause before I return to this subject. The sight of Italy, its climate, its genius, its arts, its relics of ancient grandeur, its manners, arrest my attention, and make me forget even the Alpine scenery of Savoy. It is probable that I shall be deemed to have dwelt on dry and discarded fragments of history. But they are notices, without which it is impossible to understand the extent, the duration, and the localities of the ancient dominion of the countries I have visited. Most of these notices have

disappeared from modern compilations, and are only to be found in works of research, or forgotten books of reference.

Facts, however, without reflection, or sentiment, or description, will, I fear, soon tire the reader. We travel to amuse and instruct the mind; to wear out prejudices by the sight of new manners; to refresh the weary spirit by novelty; and to force the thoughts out of deadened channels by unaccustomed impulses. As life advances, old spots almost every where recall associations too painful to be endured. A sanguine fancy is condemned to pass a great part of its time in the regions of Disappointment: and the bitterness of hope perpetually destroyed, requires every alleviation that management can devise.

Change of air, and a novel atmosphere, ameliorates and strengthens also our material part. The human frame is powerfully affected by this variety.

In this re-invigorated state all the materials presented to our minds make more vivid impressions, and are used with double advantage.

Knowledge, which had lain for years lifeless on the tablets of our memories, springs up into bloom and fruit; and we associate memorials, hitherto dry and inanimate, with living scenes and actual appearances.

What I have said about the kingdom of Burgundy and its Rulers, from the time of Charlemagne to the extinction of the Second Race of Kings of that magnificent Country, has been drawn forth by the curiosity excited by visiting the rich and sublime expanse of their domains. When on the death of Rodolph III. in 1032, these noble territories were subjected to the all-grasping and overshadowing wing of the German Empire, they lost, with their independence, much of their political interest. Three centuries elapsed before they emancipated themselves from the iron yoke, and established a new sort of independence, under the guard of the Helvetic Confederacy.

The two principal authors who have written the *History of Switzerland* in modern days, are Jean Muller, and Paul-Henri Mallet; the last the senior in age, and of prior date in the

literary world, though posterior on the present subject.

Jean Muller was born at Schaffousen in 1752, the son of a pastor who filled the chair of Hebrew Professor at that place. At the age of eighteen he studied Theology at Gottingen: but his taste soon led him to History, and he printed his *Bellum Cimbricum* at Zurich, 1772. He soon afterwards began to assemble his materials for the *History of Switzerland*, and consumed eight or nine years in this labour. During this period he became tutor to the children of the celebrated Tronchin at Geneva; and enjoyed the society of the eminent naturalist, Charles Bonnet, with whom he passed much time at his villa of Genthod, on the Lake, near Coppet. He now opened a course of Historical Lectures at Geneva; and at this time published in German the first part of his History of Switzerland. In 1781 he had an interview with the great Frederic at Berlin; but the prejudices of this monarch against German literature, formed a bar to his deriving any advantages from the patronage of this whimsical Prince. After a varied

series of events, during which he laboured to perfect his History of Switzerland, he opened a new course of History at Berne; and all the youth of that Canton were anxious to profit from the instruction of a Professor so learned and so famous. He afterwards accepted the employment of Librarian to the Elector of Mayence. Here he published the first volumes of his new edition of the History of Switzerland; and wrote many things on the state of Germany. In 1793 he was induced by the Emperor's offers to visit Vienna; but jealousies and disagreeable circumstances forced him to quit it, and visit Berlin a second time, where he continued his history. He had afterwards the good fortune to procure the situation of Counsellor of State to the Court of Westphalia, and in this post he died at the age of fifty-six years.

His LETTERS to his friend Bonstetten have been published in a little 8vo. volume at Zurich, and are characterized by great eloquence, and the most attractive purity and fervor of sentiment.

Paul-Henri-Mallet was born at Geneva in 1730; became Professor of History at his native city; and was successively Royal Professor of Belles-Lettres at Copenhagen, and Member of the Academies of Upsal, Lyons, Cassel, and of the Celtic Academy of Paris. One of his earliest and his most celebrated work, was his HISTORY OF DENMARK, of which the learned *Introduction* contains a most curious view of the Ancient Mythology of the People of the North. His HISTORY OF SWITZERLAND, in 4 vols. 8vo. may be considered as in part a digested Abridgement of the more detailed work (in 9 vols. 8vo.) of his young friend *Jean Muller*, with a continuation to more modern times. He also wrote the *History of the House of Hesse;* the *History of the House of Brunswick;* the *History of the Hanseatic League,* &c. He died at Geneva, 8th February, 1807, in his seventy-seventh year.

LETTER XI.

House of Savoy---Faucigny.

Florence, October 29, 1819.

THE ROYAL HOUSE OF SAVOY, who form part of the subject of my former Letters, have continued in the male line in possession of the same Principality for about eight hundred years. They are inferior in this sort of antiquity to the Royal House of France: but perhaps to no other now existing in Europe. Their gradual accumulation of territories and power from a petty sovereignty or vice-government, is curious: like a little spring, which gradually receives the tribute of collateral streams, till it becomes a mighty river.

These sovereigns did not indeed immediately take their rise on the breaking up of the Empire

of Charlemagne. Another century and half intervened; and they rose out of the spoils of the kingdom of Burgundy, which was itself but a limb of the first magnificent empire. It was immediately as governors or great officers under this vast dominion, that the first great princes and nobles of Europe carved out their future possessions and power.

Savoie Proper, *(Savogia; Ager Savogensis,)* in the Tenth Century, comprehended only the Valley of the *Isere*, (which extends from Chaparillan to Conflans,) the territory of Bauges, the Vallies of Chambery, Aix, and Bourget. Humbert was *Comes in Agro Savogensi*, in 1010. The descendants of these first Counts having acquired by alliances or treaties the neighbouring country of the *Maurienne*, extended successively the name of Savoy to all the countries submitted to their domination on the same side of the Alpes.

In the reign of Amédée VIII. this country comprehended the Maurienne, the Tarentaise, Savoy Proper, Bresse, Bugey, the County of the Genevois, Faucigny, the countries of Gex and

Vaud, and the Duchy of Chablais, which extended itself to Martigny. The Emperor Sigismond erected these provinces into a Duchy, 19th February, 1416, under the German Empire, and every Duke of Savoy constantly took investiture from the Emperors.

The most romantic part of all this Duchy is Faucigny, already mentioned, at the foot of Mont-Blanc.

Mons. *Bourrit* in his *Itineraire de Geneve, des Glaciers de Chamouny*, &c. 1808, 8vo. has the following extraordinary passage:

"A une lieue de Bonneville, on voit sur un rocher escarpè les ruines du fort de Faucigny, détruit dans les guerres du seizieme siècle, ruines qui nous représentent encore l'image de l'oppression de la portion la plus respectable du genre humain. La Savoie etoit alors hérissée de chateaux; c'etoit la dépouille du foible, et en jouissoient dans une tranquillité cruelle, comme l'aigle dans son aire déchire avec sécurité les membres palpitans de sa proie."

Where is the justice of this comparison of ancient Feudal Barons, of whom no record of

particular exists, to Eagles in their Airies enjoying in tranquillity the palpitating limbs of their mangled prey? It would be difficult to prove that the Feudal establishment was not the best for the times in which it arose. The period at length arrived when the augmenting spirit of commerce required that the Feudal fetters should be broken: but centuries elapsed before this was the case. During these centuries the Feudal chain was best calculated to hold together society, and to defend them from the violences and encroachments of each other.

Nothing can be more magnificent than the situations of the ruins of some of these chateaux of the Princes of Faucigny. Sometimes they stand upon the points of stupendous insulated rocks, of which the swelling bases and half the ascents are covered with noble forest trees; overlooking with sublime command scenes such as Salvator Rosa would have delighted to paint in his wildest and most inspired moments.

Between Servoz and Chamouni are the relics of one of these chateaux on a rock placed in the midst of the valley, overtopped indeed by the

lateral chains of Alpine mountains that shut in the valley. It is called the chatean of St. Michael. The peasantry believe it to be haunted, and relate wonderful stories of its treasures, its sorceries, and the Spirits that frequent it. I presume that it was one of the residences of the Faucigny family.

The inhabitants of the district of Faucigny are distinguished above all other Savoyards as a people simple in their manners, cheerful, robust, and industrious. They send out numbers annually all over Europe, to make their fortunes by little articles of merchandise: but such is their passionate love of their country, that all retire to spend what they get in the bosom of their own dear mountains.

All the English, and indeed all foreigners who come into these regions, visit Mont-Blanc. The whole road from Geneva to Chamouni, which is at the foot of this mountain, augments in grandeur at every step. It lies on the banks of the Arve, the whole way, ascending towards its source in the Col de Balme, which separates The Valais from Chamouni. It passes through

the three towns of Bonneville, Cluse, and Servoz. At Cluse the valley grows narrower, and the mountains become perpendicular, and frown over the road in the most savage sublimity. As we enter the Valley of Chamouni, and pursue the road along the side of the mountain, looking down upon the profound depths through which the Arve runs, the mind is filled with awe and admiration, and language is inadequate to give a picture of the scenery.

Chamouni is divided into three parishes: that which is distinguished by its ancient monastic establishment by the name of *Priory,* is a village of a few scattered houses. The Priory is broke up, (I believe by the French:) the church remains. Here are two hotels for the numerous visitants who flock hither every year from every part of Europe. The *Union*, established in 1815, is excellent: a table d'hote at five o'clock is well supplied in the English fashion: we sat down about twenty---English, Scotch, Irish, Germans, Russians.

Here Mont-Blanc is directly over us: the village is literally at its foot. On Saturday,

September 18, 1819, we breakfasted at the hotel just named; set off from it at half-past eight o'clock; ascended the *Mountainvert;* went over the summit to the *Mer de Glace;* and returning back to the hut erected for a resting-place on the top, where a person attends, and where a book is kept for travellers' names, we took some refreshment, and then descended a steeper path to the source of the *Arveiron,* and thence came back to the hotel, which we reached by half-past four o'clock.

The ascent is accessible for mules about half the way: to one who is not a good walker, the fatigue of the steepness beyond that point is very great: but the acute declivity of the return is still more painful. I had suffered by a bad sprain of my left ankle about ten days before, and in consequence I felt great weariness and inconvenience in the labour of regaining the valley. I will confess that the *Mer de Glace* disappointed me: perhaps the whole ascent disappointed me: but I was in ill health at the time. The first part of the ascent by an intricate and rocky pathway among forests of pine pleased

me most. The ascent of the adjoining mountain of Mont-Blanc itself, covered with eternal snow, only a few adventrous travellers undertake.

The world has been inundated with descriptions of visits to Mont-Blanc. I have nothing new therefore to say on this subject. During the long winter the inhabitants are buried in snow. From June to September they live amid scenery at once beautiful and sublime; and are cheered and enriched by the numerous travellers from every other part of Europe, who come to inspect the wonders of Nature among which their lot has placed them. It was in 1741 that Messrs. Pocock and Windham first set the fashion of visiting this place. So little was it frequented, and such were the supposed hazards and perils attending it, that they made preparations as if they were going on travels of discovery of a new world. More than thirty years afterwards the famous Genevan Naturalist, Horace Benedict De Saussure, made the attempt to ascend these mountains. It was not till August 1787, that he conquered Mont-Blanc. The next year

he accomplished the *Col du Geant*, where he encamped seventeen days to make his observations. His *Geological* Works are known all over Europe. He died 1798, aged forty-eight. His friend, Senebier, of Geneva, has published a memoir of him, in one small 8vo. volume.

The inhabitants of Chamouni are a simple, robust, hardy people. The children, particularly the girls, are strikingly beautiful: we remarked this in the faces of all the children who flocked about us in our ascent of the Montanvert; but labour or hard living, or the union of both, destroys this at an early age; for we saw no beautiful women; and the aged were hideous.

The first known sovereign of the Barony of Faucigny, was EMMERAD, who, about A. D. 1000, paid homage for it to the Emperor Conrad, who had succeeded to the rights of the Kings of Burgundy. His son, LOUIS, was father (by Teberge, his second wife) of WILLIAM, Baron of Faucigny, 1119, who, by Utilie, his wife, had RODOLPH, his son and heir, *fourth* Baron, 1125, whose *second* son, *Ardutius*, was first Bishop of Geneva,

who, in opposition to the pretensions of the Counts of the Genevois, and the Dukes of Zæringen, obtained in 1153 from the Emperor Frederic Barberousse, at Spire, a confirmation of the possessions and privileges of his church; and who afterwards, in 1162, further acquired from the same Emperor a declaration in his favour, as *supremus dominus et princeps civitatis, suburbiorum et limitum ipsius civitatis et castrorum episcopatûs Gebennensis.* Raymond, *fourth* son, Seigneur of Thoire and of Boissy, left male posterity, who continued for seventeen generations, even to our days.

Aimon I. Baron of Faucigny, elder brother of Bishop Ardutius and of Raymond, accompanied Amé III. Count de Savoy, to the Holy Land in 1147, and founded the *Reposoir* in 1151. His son, Henri, (or Humbert,) was father of Aimon II. *sixth* Baron, 1234, the last Baron of the male line, who left three daughters: 1. Agnes, Baroness de Faucigny, who married at Châtillon sur Cluses, in 1223, Peter, Count de Savoy; 2. Beatrix, who married Stephen de Thoire-

Villars; 3. Eleonore, who married Simon de Joinville, Lord of Gex.

Pierre, Count de Savoy, left issue by Agnes de Faucigny, only one daughter and heir, Beatrix, who inherited this Barony, and who, on 4th December, 1241, married Hugh XII. *Dauphin de Viennois*, by whom she had issue, to whom the Barony of Faucigny passed. Hugh, Dauphin de Viennois, took the title of Baron of Faucigny, in the life time of his grandmother. Humbert II. last Dauphin, ceded his dominions of Dauphiny and Faucigny, in 1343, to Philip, King of France, on condition that the eldest sons of France should bear the title and arms of *Dauphins de Viennois*, and that Faucigny should never be dismembered from their estates. But the situation of this district surrounded on every side by the territories of Savoy, occasioned continual wars; and it became necessary, for the purpose of terminating them, to enter into a treaty at Paris, in 1354, for a mutual exchange, by which France should possess the seigniories and rights which Savoy had in Dauphiny, and Savoy become Sovereign of Faucigny and Gex, under

the reserve of homage to France. Louis XI. released this homage by the Treaty of Bayonne, 1445; but Francis I. having declared war against his uncle, Charles III. reclaimed this homage for the Barony of Faucigny. This question was discussed at the conferences of Lyons in 1561; and Charles-Emanuel I. to relieve himself from this claim, called in the influence of the Emperor Rodolph, whom he was forced to conciliate by taking investiture of Faucigny from him, notwithstanding the Dukes, his predecessors, had always protested that it was independent.

The ancient administration, civil and political, of Faucigny, was of a mixed government. The Estates of the Province assembled every year at Cluse, to elect a Grand Bailiff, a Chief Judge, and an Ordinary Judge. These estates were composed of ten Bailiwicks---Châtillon, Cluses, Bonneville, Bonne, Sallanches, Château-de-Faucigny, Châtelet de Credoz, Samoëns, Mont-Joye, and Flumet.

The inhabitants of Faucigny have been always lively, industrious, and active. They have furnished a great number of men of letters, and

men employed in the business of state. Naturally addicted to the speculations of commerce, the Faucignans have for more than a century established considerable houses of commerce in Germany, Switzerland, and France. Watch-making has flourished at Cluse, &c. Their chief commerce consists in beasts, mules, timber, charcoal, butter, cheese, tallow, flax, honey of Chamouni, cherry-brandy, leather, skins, &c. which find their principal vent through Geneva.

There is little luxury in these parts: the churches are unornamented: the clergy lead a plain, coarse life: there are scarcely any nobles or gentlemen resident in the country. The peasants are apparently frank, honest, and unsophisticated. The French are said to have introduced some change here, as every where else, which they unhappily overran. The old regime, to which they have returned, is somewhat strict: and particularly with regard to religious intolerance.

LETTER XII.

Originality very rare---Dante, Petrarch, Boccace, Chaucer, Spenser, Sackville, Milton---Court-Poets of Charles I. and Charles II.

Florence, November 13, 1819.

TO have a clear perception of what others have written or said, to retain it in the memory, and to be able to bring forward, or repeat it either in the same order, or in any altered succession, entitles a man to the praise of intellectual abilities, and may enable him to acquire and communicate great erudition. But it is quite a different quality from Genius: whether as applied to the invention of imagery or sentiment, or to novelty of deduction in the application of reasoning.

When therefore we speak of a man's acquirements, we are incorrect if we bring them as

proofs of his genius. It is astonishing what an extent of acquirements may be conferred by long and patient labour on one of very moderate talents!

Of those original powers, which constitute Genius, the gradations are infinite, both in native strength, and in exercise, discipline, and application. Some are feeble, crude, and of but slight use or merit. Some, by the union of innate force and due discipline, arrive at almost superhuman splendor.

But of the multitudes even of those, who have obtained some reputation in the literary world, it is, perhaps, not too severe to exclude nineteen out of twenty from the classes of original writers.

In this exclusion must be comprised, for the most part, historians, biographers, authors of travels and voyages, critics and annotators, and almost all writers on professional subjects. Even in departments which require originality, a large portion employ no other faculty than memory, which enables them to be faint echoes of some

favourite predecessor, or of a combination of their predecessors.

It would demand space and leisure, and close and patient attention, and perhaps superior acuteness, to develop with exactness the value of these multiplications of the same facts and the same ideas. There may be some value in a diversity of dress, or of position. But there is an ubiquity and universality in what is intellectual, that, with the exception of the varying media of different languages, makes copies (not an addition to the wealth, but) mainly a superfluity.

If this be true, they who possess the rare faculty of original thinking, ought not to waste their time in labour of such comparative insignificance as repeating the ideas of others.

It must strike every one of a scrutinizing spirit, how little there is new in the whole range of literature. Images, sentiments, reasoning, facts, language, method, are all borrowed from those who have gone before: as if men were afraid to trust themselves to go alone, even where they have the strength!

If there be a class of books in which this

weakness abounds more than in any other, it is in volumes of Travels. On the same subjects, and in copying from the same features, it may be said that it is impossible to avoid similitude. But the similitude produced by a common original, and that which arises from identity of copy, are quite different things. It is not probable that two artists would, without communication, select the same features and the same points of view of the same subject. Two authors, if struck with the same ideas, could scarcely, without communication, express them in the same language.

Of all subjects, it would be the most curious to trace poetical thoughts, poetical stories, and poetical phrases, to their origin. On the revival of poetry with Dante, Petrarch, and Boccacio, how instructive and how amusing would be the task, to enquire how much was borrowed from the ancients, how much issued from the stores of the troubadours, and how much was of the true and proper invention of these deservedly immortal men!

In addition to the splendid genius with which

Nature had endowed them, they had great advantages of time and country. The climate, the scenery, the specimens of ancient Art, with which they were surrounded; the manners of the Age; the institutions of Chivalry, yet in their lustre; the romantic spirit that prevailed; the dawn of science; the yet-believing superstitions: nourished an union of wild Fancy and commencing Taste, so happily blended, as to have been most favourable to the display of the unequalled powers of intellect, which had been conferred on their birth.

But even these illustrious and powerful spirits, have probably much less of their own, than modern blindness supposes! Yet what do we not owe them? He who thinks the obligations of modern literature to them light, is as ignorant as he is devoid of taste and sagacity. They seized the bold features of an age of vigour and enthusiasm, and rapidly-growing effulgence; and painted them with a master's talent, and a master's fire. The grand conception of the *Divina Comedia* in particular, (to which nothing subsequent approximates,

unless Milton's *Paradise Lost*, an invention deficient in the due interest of human affairs,) and added to this, an execution equally magnificent, produced in the midst of surrounding barbarism, must continue to fill the intelligent with admiration and astonishment, increasing in proportion to the intensity of their reflection upon the subject.

Language, which unites grace and precision with power, would seem to be the patient result of gradual refinement operating on the gradual progress of human intelligence, in its march from ignorance and savageness to polished maturity. But DANTE grasped it at once; he threw off its excrescences, and retained all its force. What ardour must have carried him forward, when, instead of resting content with that which would have satisfied his cotemporaries, he exerted the energies required to anticipate the improvements of future centuries, and to secure the applause of those, whom successive ages of labour should render fastidious!

It is probable, that men, even of the brightest genius, experience but a twilight glimmering of

many images and sentiments, which it would demand great and painful effort to bring forward into clear and defined light. If readers are content with what is more easily produced, they revel in their idleness. But Dante could never have indulged in this propensity to oblivious ease. With what profoundness he had studied the history of mankind; with what sagacity and feeling he had penetrated into the human character; with what sympathy he had traced the misfortunes, and pursued the grandeur of the illustrious, is apparent from the felicity with which he selected the traits that ennobled their sorrows, and exhibited them in the most striking points of view to posterity!

In him it is sublimity of thought, and intenseness of feeling, that forms the essence of his poetry. In him the minor poetry of mere language is subordinate: it follows of course in mere reflection from the glow of soul that it clothes.

Petrarch has less invention in its most extensive range. He has the invention of linking the immaterial to the material world before the eyes

of one individual. In this faculty his brilliance, his pathos, his eloquence, his touching language, have secured him a laurel that will for ever flourish with the same distinguished verdure.

How strange and perverse has been the opinion promulgated by many literati, that LAURA, the object of his affection, was an ideal personage. He has left a record in his own hand, the most decisive possible on this subject. In the celebrated MS. volume of Virgil in the Ambrosienne Library at Milan, (a MS. of which it is supposed that the whole was executed by the beautiful pen of Petrarch himself,) is the following inestimable autograph.

"Laura propriis virtutibus illustris, et meis longum celebrata carminibus, primum sub meis oculis apparuit sub primum adolescentiæ meæ tempus anno Domini MCCCXXVII. die VI. mensis Aprilis in Ecclesia S. Claræ Avinione hora matutina. Et in eadem Civitate eodem mense Aprili, eodem die VI. eadem hora prima, anno autem MCCCXLVIII. ab hac luce lux illa subtracta est, cum ego forte tunc Veronæ essem, heu! fati mei nescius. Rumor autem infelix per litteras Ludovici mei me Parmæ reperit anno eodem mense Maio die XIX. mane Corpus

illud castissimum atque pulcherrimum in loco Fratrum Minorum repositum est eo ipso die mortis ad vesperam. Animam quidem ejus, ut de Africano ait Seneca, in Cælum, unde erat, rediisse persuadeo mihi. Hoc autem ad acerbam rei memoriam amara quadam dulcedine scribere visum est hoc potissimum loco, qui sæpe sub oculos meos redit, ut scilicet nihil esse deberet (quod) amplius mihi placeat, et effracto majori laqueo tempus esse de Babylone fugiendi, crebra horum inspectione, ac fugacissimæ ætatis æstimatione commonear, quod prævia Dei gratia facile erit præteriti temporis curas supervacuas, spes inanes, et inexpectatos exitus acriter et viriliter cogitanti, ..."*

Petrarch was born at Arezzo, in 1304; and died in 1374, aged seventy. Dante was born at Florence, in 1262; and died in 1321, aged fifty-nine. I have not dwelt upon Boccacio, because his *Decameron*, which is in prose, and not his poetry, has continued the favourite of future generations. Boccacio was born in 1313; and

* This is printed in Tiraboschi, V. 532, and also in Fabroni's Latin Life of Petrarch. But I also saw it with my own eyes in the Ambrosienne Library, on Monday, October 18, 1819.

died in 1375, aged sixty-two. Ariosto's birth was more than an hundred years later. He was born at Reggio *, between Parma and Modena, on September 8th, 1474; and died at Ferrara, 6th June, 1533, aged fifty-eight. Torquato Tasso was born at Sorrento in the kingdom of Naples, 11th March, 1544, eleven years after the death of Ariosto; and died 25th April, 1595, aged fifty-one.

With these immortal names, we have three of congenial powers in England, which, perhaps, we may venture to put on the same seats:---Chaucer, Spenser, and Milton. Chaucer, I think, has the least pretensions, excellent as he is in his own department. His vivacity, his ease, his knowledge of life, are admirable; but there is less depth of colouring in his images; less of that sublime, or of that wild and romantic fancy, which constitute the most characteristic features of the highest poetry. He is indeed always a poet; he groups his figures with a

* On Saturday, October 23, 1819, I read with veneration the Inscription recording the fact, over the door of the house where he was born.

poet's wand, and his circumstancialities are always poetical; but he delights to dwell rather upon the merriments and absurdities of life, than upon the exhibitions of the grander passions. Sackville, at the distance of more than two hundred years, caught better some of Dante's tones; and threw on his figures some of that great master's sombre colouring. Lord Surrey imitated rather, but imitated feebly, the elegant pathos of Petrarch.

I begun this letter with the subject of ORIGINALITY, and I must end with it. I would not do so unhallowed a thing as to detract from the originality of Milton: but it is clear that there are certain tints and hues both of imagery and sentiment, that were caught; perhaps involuntarily and unconsciously caught, from the inspired Bard of the INFERNO; the PURGATORIO; and the PARADISO; who is well known to have been a prime poetical favourite with him. If Milton borrowed or imitated, it was not from poverty. He is perhaps the most original, (except Shakespeare,) as he is the most sublime of our poets. If he sometimes takes images from

obscure predecessors, he uses them as the artist does the raw material; transmutes what was of no value, by the touch of his hand, into a brilliant composition.

There have been endeavours to find models for his *Comus*, his *L'Allegro*, and his *Il Penseroso*. The instances of resemblance produced have been absurdly inapplicable to the point intended to be established. The same image in different hands has the most dissimilar effects: not only may the combination be different; but an epithet; a single additional circumstance; the omission of a single circumstance; the very harmony, or harshness in the position of words or syllables, may create or destroy the charm. Beauties may once or twice occur in a tedious mass of rubbish; but they then appear accidental. It is in the tone of the whole; in the uniform character of inspiration; in the Doric grace; the mellow sweetness; that these enchantingp oems breathe a felicity peculiarly their own, and hitherto vainly attempted to be imitated.

When with the return of Charles II. the French School of Poetry rose in England into

such encouragement as to overshadow and crush the Italian, Milton's poetry lay for more than half a century neglected. Rural images became of no value for their own sake; they were merely regarded as materials for similies to aid in the composition of the petty ingenuities of courtly gallantry; to form verses of extravagant flattery, in which there was neither passion nor genius: to put Fancy in opposition to Nature, not as the light to set off her charms; to represent mankind not in the simple and beautiful forms which Providence has conferred on them; but in a whimsical masquerade of artificial disguise, to which the energies of romantic passion would appear untutored ignorance; and the pure language of unsophisticated genius, the insipid babblings of a dull and inexperienced recluse.

From the time of our Restoration, every thing was sacrificed to point and neatness; to what was deemed a polished and courtly turn; to a certain sort of ironical, smiling, or sneering treatment of every subject, as if sincerity was vulgar, and seriousness want of illumination.

There had been in the time of Charles I. a

set of Court-Poets, who had mixed up with their compositions sufficient gallantry, and a due attention to all those subjects, and that manner of treating them, which Courts in their nature require. Thomas Carew, Thomas Stanley, Richard Lovelace, Sidney Godolphin, William Earl of Pembroke, Robert Herrick, James Shirley, Sir Richard Fanshaw, and others, abounded in gallantry; in compliments to the beauties of the day, fervid and often far-fetched; in quaintnesses adapted to the affected pretensions of the butterflies that buzz about a throne. These quaintnesses had the further recommendation of being often ingenious, and often elegantly and harmoniously expressed. They were the fruits of the perversion of very ingenious minds, and very skilful and extensive acquirements in polite literature. It is impossible not to admit and admire their ingenuity, even when a rigid taste must condemn them.

But, mingled with these faults, so likely to suit the depraved appetites of a dissolute Court, were beauties which made the votaries of the new fashion turn with aversion from these pro-

ductions, and condemn them to a long oblivion. The best of them often breathed a spirit of the purest and simplest poetry, expressed in language equally pure and simple: they relied on the interest of the image or the sentiment, and scorned to have recourse to the attractions of meretricious ornament. The Wits of King Charles the Second's Court had no conception of the value of a thought for its own sake: it was the dress, and nothing but the dress, that they regarded. An unexpected turn; a sharp jest upon the manners of the world; an epigrammatic terseness; an happy simile; a compliment of extravagant gallantry neatly pointed: a voluptuous and dissolute principle gaily and transparently announced; ---these were the merits they aspired to, and often attained. Whatever was sincere in the former age; whatever spoke the emotions of the heart; whatever was in a tone of enthusiasm, they rejected as unenlightened, unrefined, and unfashionable.

I cannot guess at any other mode of accounting for the immediate, profound, and long neglect, into which such poets as Carew, Lovelace,

and Stanley, immediately fell. There is a Song of Lovelace, and there are Stanzas of Carew, and even of Herrick, which have never been rivalled: and Stanley, though quaint, is not only elegant, but had the recommendation of great classical fame to preserve the memory of his poems.

If this letter seems out of place, let the reader turn back to the second page of this volume, and he will there find that it is only one of the digressions for which the author has expressly stipulated.

LETTER XIII.

Baths of St. Gervais in Savoy---Reflections on Savoyard Simplicity.

Florence, November 15, 1819.

AT the foot of the Alpes, in the district of Faucigny, about forty miles south-east from Geneva, lie the celebrated Mineral BATHS of ST. GERVAIS, which are of very late discovery, and have not been in use for more than twelve years. The first characteristic of these Baths, is the beauty and grandeur of the Natural Scenery in which they are placed.

As far as *Sallenche*, (or rather St. Martin, which stands before the entrance of the bridge that conducts across the ARVE to Sallenche,) the route is the same from Geneva as leads to *Chamouni*. From Sallenche the road lies along

the valley on the right bank of the Arve for about five miles, till it conducts the traveller to the rude and crazy bridge thrown across the little torrent of the Bon-Nant.

Up the deep valley, through which the torrent flows, about half a mile distant on the east bank, are situated the *Baths* of St. Gervais. The village is on the side of the mountain, up a steep ascent, more than a mile beyond the bridge. It directly overhangs the Bath, behind which the torrent rushes down in a most magnificent cascade, through a cleft of the rocks.

The *Mineral Spring* issues from this rock, a few yards below the torrent. It was discovered about 1807, by Mr. Gonthard, the proprietor, then a notary at the village of St. Gervais. Dr. Matthey, the physician, who resides here during the season, has written a full account of these Baths;* and it would therefore be idle and use-

* Dr. Matthey's is an ingenious, scientific, clear, and satisfactory account of these Baths, entitled "*Las Bains de Saint-Gervais près du Mont-Blanc, (en Savoie) Par Andrè Matthey, D. M. Secretaire de la Société de Médecine, et Medicin du bureau de bienfaisance, de Genève; Membre de la Société médicale d'emulation de Paris, de la Société de médecine*

less in me to fill these pages with a long description of them.

My health requiring that I should visit these Baths, which were prescribed to me by the medical advice of Geneva, I spent here a month in August, and the whole month of September. I found the Warm Bath highly efficacious; and, at the same time, very pleasant. I bathed twice a day almost the whole time. Here are also Vapour-Baths and Shower-Baths, and the Waters are also drank.

The air is eminently light and pure; and the surrounding scenery at once so magnificent, so pastoral, and so delicious, that it contributes at once to calm and to cheer the spirits. The tour

pratique de Montpelier de celles de Besancon, Marseille, etc. Paris, et Geneve, J. J. Paschoud, 1818, 8vo. pp. 240.--- PART I. contains the Topography of St. Gervais and its neighbourhood: its natural history; its air; its waters; the regimen of the Baths. PART II. gives an account of the Medicinal Properties of the Waters of St. Gervais; with a large collection of curious cases.

Dr. Matthey is also author of "*Recherches Nouvelles sur les Maladies de l'Esprit, précédées de Considérations sur les difficultés de l'Art de Guerir. Geneve, Paschoud,* 1816, 8vo. pp. 368.

along the summits of the two lateral mountains, that immediately enclose the valley, and round the head, down which the torrent of the Bon-Nant thunders, to its foot, adjoining the spring, is performed by walkers, or on mules, in two or three hours, and leads through the village of St. Gervais, and over a most romantic bridge, called *The Devil's Bridge*, which crosses the Bon-Nant at a spot where it runs in a deep and narrow channel through the rocks. On one occasion we ascended this torrent for some miles towards the mountains, and crossed it below St. Nicholai, which stands high upon the slope that overlooks it. Here we dined at the house of the Curè. The windows of this house command one of the sides of these gigantic elevations, which form the chain that go under the name of Mont-Blanc. At this season it was green and smiling. The air, through which it was seen, was so light and clear, that every object seemed brilliant as in a mirror.

To live amid such scenes, strikes one at first as adapted to nurse the most sublime contemplations, and to strengthen into splendor and

energy the powers of fancy and sentiment. But this is rather the first view of the warm Poet, than the conclusion of the calculating Philosopher. It seems as if cultivated man was more destined to be within the frequent reach of society. The inhabitants of these lonely magnificences, exhibit marks of torpor and coarseness, that dissipate the Poet's dreams of purity, and innocence, and virtue; of senses exquisitely tuned to the beauty of natural scenery; and of lofty disdain of the debasing vices of congregated cities; of the mean passions of conflicting society; and of the petty squabbles of artificial desires. In the midst of the purifying expansion of mountain-air, they live in squallid cottages; and their looks, their habits, and amusements, are hard and repulsive.

In truth, magnificent as is the scenery of Nature, without the aid of Mind, it is nothing. It is the combination of the *immaterial* with the *material* world, that constitutes true grandeur, and true virtue. Hence all landscape-painting, all description of natural scenery, unconnected with its operations on the intellectual beings that

people it, is of little comparative estimation or use. For this reason Thomson's *Seasons* fall beneath the highest classes of poetry, and give to Cowper's *Task* some advantage over them.

But Solitude is still the sphere of the nobler orders of intellect. The question is, *what* solitude? shall it be a retreat in the midst of mankind? or far remote from their habitations? We ought to retire from the world, full of materials for reflection upon human nature. We ought frequently to return to it, to refresh our stores, and bring our mental excursions again to the test of experience. If in society our worst passions are nurtured; in society are also nurtured our best! It is by collision that our manners are polished, and our faculties invigorated and improved. The lonely mountains of Savoy, in which Nature revels in all her sublimity, may cherish the dreams, and fructify the reason of him, who carries thither the treasures of knowledge and thought; but the mountain-breezes will blow their freshness, and the smiling vallies will breathe their perfumes, in vain for him, in whose vacant brain no seeds have been sown.

Where the mind has not been cultivated; where exercise and labour have not ameliorated it; it produces but little, and that little is weeds. We turn with pain and mortification from torpor and hardness in the countenance, and squalid neglect in the whole person. We see the peasant children stretched out at their ease on the sides of magnificent mountains, under the shades of old fantastic trees, in a genial climate, watching their goats, and their cows, and their sheep, that browse round them; and we hear them singing their songs of gladness, that echo cross the vallies: for a moment we imagine the Arcadian times returned: we think of the purity of this pastoral life: of senses refined by the delightful images with which they are constantly conversant: and of dispositions and feelings congenial to the simplicity and grandeur of the scenery in which they are placed. We approach them: we examine their countenances: we hear their voices:---and the spell is broke! It is too much to be feared, that these rural beings, so apparently enviable when seen from a distance, are little lifted above mere animal life! Their

pleasures are coarse; their reflections are few and dull; and they are insensible to all the variety of grandeur and beauty, that surrounds them!

In the solitary and picturesque groves of old Walnut-trees, in the little green glens of the Mountains, gilded by the serene splendor of an Autumnal Sun, I saw groups of children, and young girls, gathering the ripe produce of the trees that lay scattered on the grass, or shaking it from the branches, on which they had climbed. Fancy siezed upon the picture, and clad their existence with rays of imaginary innocence and happiness. Cold reason, and the memory of experience, soon forced upon me a different lesson. Severe labour; scanty and innutricious food; long, cheerless winters of snow and frost; and rude dwellings of bare walls, comfortless, and loaded with smoke and filth, made up the greater part of their lot!

It is the decree of Providence, that Man should work out the well-being of his existence by mental labour improving upon bodily; by wealth, that can only be brought forth by intellectual ingenuity; by Art and Science; by the

Reason, that directs; by the Fancy, that illumines! Poverty is the offspring of our supineness: and if Riches ill-applied lead to sensual and corrupt luxury, and final ruin; with Riches alone spring up the refinements and splendors, that raise us in the scale of Intellectual Existence!

Of the evils of artificial society much may be said: but those are its *abuses!* Its uses no profound thinker can doubt. There only can the high Virtues: there only can Man appear in his glory!

The labours of the hewers of wood, and the drawers of water; and even those of the *Arts* of necessity, cannot, in the most extended and grand view of human society, be deemed of more use than the toils of the *Ornamental* Arts. If they be thought a vain and empty consumption of wealth in abandoning to superfluous pleasure what might supply the cravings of Want, they who indulge this opinion, have not penetrated into the real sources of wealth, nor examined the immutable laws of Nature, by which it is decreed that wealth should be produced and distributed.

What is solitude without literature? And how can literature have birth, but amid the refinements of society? It was in "thronged Cities," amid the splendor of Tournaments, in Courts of Princes,

"In Halls of Knights and Barons bold,"

under the influence of the eyes of Beauty, that Poetry first revived with the Troubadours, after the darkness and barbarism of Centuries.

LETTER XIV.

Florence, 4th December, 1819.

THE Reader need scarcely be again reminded, that I am not undertaking to write a volume descriptive of Travels. I have many reasons for this. The Route from Calais by Paris, and the Simplon, to Milan, Florence, Rome, and Naples, has been described by an hundred English Travellers; and has been, even in the last four years, trod by thousands of them. All the common information regarding the places of this Route, is to be found in the compilations, called *Guides*, and works of that class. The pens of real Travellers, if they sometimes supply a few new notices to the last editions of these *Guides*, more often borrow from them all their stale information; and have little other value than a seeming verification of the descriptions, by having copied them on the spot.

But if for these reasons I studiously avoid to add another to this abundance of common-place Books, I do not admit that the subject is exhausted. A very great deal of very useful, and some necessary information is left buried in the repositories of Learning; and the field of observation upon manners and arts leaves much fruit still to be gathered. But the former can only be done by long leisure; by industry; by access to books, of which few travellers can possess the opportunity: the latter requires talent, literature, genius, taste, combined with toilsome thinking, accurate enquiry, and favourable intercourse with the Natives.

It would be invidious to mention the glaring defects even of the most popular of our modern Tours. Men of high literature seem to have shrunk from this task; and the peril becomes every day greater. The endless subjects of remark, that offer themselves require knowledge so multifarious, and erudition at once so extensive and so correct; and such a facility of language, to convey what is worthy of being communicated, that he, who with great gifts and

acquirements, cannot spare a long period of almost exclusive attention to it, will ill consult his reputation if he enters upon the undertaking.

Notwithstanding I have been induced by these considerations to abstain from writing a regular account of the places I have visited on the Continent, I have thought it right to intersperse my Letters with slight intimations of the places I have visited, and occasional remarks on them, as clues to the different trains of reflection or observation, or the different sketches of history, in which I have indulged.

On the 10th of October I quitted Geneva for Italy, by the route of the Simplon, by the road that passes along the Southern side of the Lake, through Thonon, Evian, Meillerie, and St. Gingoulph, which form part of *The Chablais*, to St. Maurice, in the Canton of The Valais.

There is another route along the Northern Bank of the Lake, to the same point, through Coppet, Nyon, Rolle, Morges, Lausanne, Vevay, Chillon, Villeneuve, and Bex. This joins the first at the Bridge which crosses *The Rhone* at

the entrance of St. Maurice. On the four last days of July, I passed this road in an excursion round the Lake as far as Villeneuve, whence I turned to the right, and skirting round the head of the Lake crossed the Rhone, here very rapid, in a ferry-boat, to *Port-Valais*, called also *Village de Bouveret*, a league above St. Gingoulph.

Having a large family with me; and travelling with the same horses, we proceeded scarcely forty miles a day. October 10, we slept at Evian. Monday, October 11, at St. Maurice. Tuesday, October 12, at Sion. Wednesday, October 13, at Brieg. Thursday, October 14, we ascended the Simplon; and having passed the Summit, slept at the village of Simplon, a few miles on the descent. Friday, October 15, we descended, under torrents of rain, through the savage grandeur of a narrow gorge of these Mountains, into the plains of Lombardy. We dined at Domo d'Ossola, in the territories of Piedmont, at the foot of these Alpes; and slept at Bavino. On Saturday, October 16, we slept at Cassina, in the Milanese; and on Sunday morning, Octo-

ber 17, arrived at Milan, under a very heavy rain.

In this journey we passed through five separate dominions---the Canton of Geneva; Savoy; the Canton of Valais; Piedmont (which, though under the same Monarch with Savoy, is a different kingdom); and the Milanese, now restored to Austria.

That department of Savoy, called the Duchy of Chablais, commences at a little village beyond Coligny, little more than a league from Geneva; and terminates at the Bridge, which divides the village of St. Gingoulph into two parts.

Here commences the Canton of Valais. It is remarked by the writers on this Canton, that there is not a country in the world, which in so narrow a space offers such a variety of features; and so many temperatures. It has more than two hundred square leagues of surface; and has two chains of Mountains, of which the highest summits do not yield in elevation, except to Mont-Blanc. These two chains, of which one separates from Switzerland, and the other from Italy, form by their approximation a lateral

valley, the longest perhaps of the ancient world; for it extends from *The Fourche*, (or Mount Furca,) in which the Rhone takes its rise, and which forms the boundary between the Valaisans, and the Canton of Uri, to the Lake of Geneva, in a line of about thirty-six leagues.

From the bottom of this valley of the Rhone, separate more than twenty other vallies of a less extent, which divide transversely the two chains; and rise up to enormous Glaciers, which crown them. Every one of these transversal vallies has a character of its own. Some are covered with forest-trees, interspersed with pastures and habitations. Some are a mixture of rocks and fields; some are pointed declivities, and profound and rugged gorges; from which roaring torrents are precipitated, full of terrible grandeur. Others abound in green swards, decorated with flowers, pastures, villages, and habitations, beautifully grouped. The whole is enchanting to the sight; uniting in the same valley different aspects; and producing the most smiling views by the side of the most awful.

A country so extraordinary by its great

variety, where the North and the South seem to shake hands, appears destined to receive vegetables of the most opposite climates. Accordingly Botanists find here an inexhaustible field for their pursuits *.

Amongst the features that most struck me in the grand scenery of the Valley from St. Gingoulph, and Port-Valais, to Brieg, were the Trees, both single and in forests, not only from their position, but often from their venerable and picturesque form.

Shiner speaks of these with just enthusiasm, in his Chapter XVII. *Des foréts et des arbres des montagnes du pays.*

"Regardez ces Monts qui semblent braver les orages; leurs cimes sont couvertes de la neige des hivers; sur leurs flancs sont d'immenses pâturages; pendant des siecles, leurs antiques fôrets ont vu s' asseoir les familles

* This is taken from the Preface to Shiner's interesting volume of the Topography of this Country, entitled: "*Description du Department du Simplon, ou de la ci-devant Republique du Valais. Par Mr. Schiner, Docteur en Médecine de la Faculté de Montpelier. A Sion Chez Antoine Advocat, Imprimeur de la Préfecture du Département,* 1812." pp. 558.

du pays sous leur ombrage: hameaux, cabanes, bergers troupeaux, tout respire la sérénité dans ces heureux asiles. Ces forêts sont composées d'arbres plus ou moins nombereux; l'œil aime à voir tout ce peuple de frères. C'est par eux que la nature varie ses desseins, rapproche et tantôt repousse les lointains, réunit, sépare, et sur les paysages étend ou replie le rideau des ombres."

"Les arbres des forêts peuvent s'offrir sous des aspects sans nombre; ici des troncs percés rembrunissent leur ombre; là de quelques rayons egayant ce séjour, forment un doux combat de la nuit et du jour."

"On doit avoir lieu de regretter, de pleurer même la coupe des bois dans une belle forêt; pour moi, je ne trouve rien de si beau, de si agréable, et de si majestueux qu'une belle forêt. Ah! que ne puis-je tous les jours de ma vie, dans la belle saison, passer quelques heures dans de tels endroits, j' y savourerais à longs traits les plaisirs que procure la solitude de ces lieux, réellement faits y méditer à loisir.

"Ces forêts sont composées en général d'arbres de sapin, et melèse, espèces d'arbres les plus beaux, et souvent d'une posseur et d'une hauteur prodigieuse: il y a aussi le pin sauvage, le pesse, le pin cimbre, le châtaignier et le bouleau. Quant à ceux qui croissent dans la vallée du Rhone, et qui plus ou moins aiment l'humidité, ce sont l'aulne verne, le petit aulne, le peuplier

blanc, le peuplier noir, le peuplier tremble. Le platane d'occident et la saule; on en compte au dire de Mr. *d'Eschassériaux*, vingt-trois variétés dans le Valais," &c.

At St. Maurice Rodolph I. was proclaimed King of Burgundy Trans-jurane; and after reigning twenty-four years, was succeeded by his son, Rodolph II. who died A. D. 938.

Martigny, which lies between St. Maurice and Sion, was the *Octodurum* of the Romans. The Bishops of Sion had their residence here for many ages, from A. D. 419: but afterwards, when the Lombards penetrated to this Capital, the Bishops abandoned their abode here, and fixed themselves at Sion.

In 1818 Martigny suffered a dreadful inundation from the burst of a reservoir of one of the mountain torrents, which carried away houses and cattle, and destroyed many lives. The marks of its ravages were still very conspicuous when we passed this place.

Sion, as it appears on the approach to it, is one of the most picturesque, if not the most picturesque, I have seen on the Continent. Its

internal aspect does not answer to the view of it from a distance. It is the Capital of the Valais.

Brieg, which we reached by another day's journey, stands at the foot of The Simplon. Here is the large massive Chateau, partly Gothic, partly as it would seem, Moorish, of the Barons of *Stockalper*, great and ancient feudal proprietors here, whose vast territories, we were told, are spread over the Simplon as far as Iselle, at the Italian foot of the mountain, where the Piedmontese dominions commence.

We ascended the Simplon on a day of rain, mixed with snow; and long before we reached the summit, the cold began to grow severe. The celebrity of this road has rendered the knowledge of it as a celebrated work of Art, familiar to all readers of Travels. It will always be a monument of Napoleon's magnificence. It is a stupendous exhibition of human labour and skill. I will not say that the ascent quite equalled the anticipations of my fancy. It however exceeds in grandeur, what language can delineate.

The accommodations of the Hotel of the

village of Simplon, are far beyond any thing that could be expected in so lonely a spot. We slept here with comfort. At the same time equal room was found for other travellers: among these were General Burnet, with his friends Mr. Millar and Mr. Cruikshanks.

The following day the descent into Italy was marked by a savage grandeur, which I never before expected to see, except in some of the sublimest pictures of Salvator Rosa. Perpendicular rocks lifted themselves to the sky on each side of us; while the bed of the valley was only wide enough for the roaring stream; and sometimes for the road on its side, which at other times ran through galleries formed by piercing the projections of the rocks.

The longest of these galleries are also pierced upward, to let in the light from the sky; and sometimes towards the torrent, to enable the traveller to look down upon the tremendous waters that are foaming and bellowing by his side.

LETTER XV.

Reflections---Passage of the Simplon resumed---Borromean Islands---Milan---Visconti and Sforza Families.

Naples, 5th June, 1820.

THOUGH I am now at Naples, I have not conducted my reader beyond the Simplon. A long interval of seven anxious months has passed, principally spent at Florence, of which nearly four months have dragged along under the confinement of a painful illness. Yet I have seen much; read much; and reflected still more in this instructive period. It would have been strange if I had not, on a first visit to Italy at so mature an age!

He, who writes a *Guide*, will do well to commit his notices to paper at the moment they occur. He, who undertakes to communicate

reflections, and well-considered opinions, will act more skilfully by waiting till the confusion of first impressions has passed away; and only what is of permanent interest remains upon his mind. There is a false attraction in Novelty, of which the power soon subsides.

I look back upon the descent into Italy from the summit of the Simplon with undiminished admiration! I have never beheld any thing in Nature so stupendously and awfully grand! The narrowness of the gorge through which the road runs; the roaring torrent; the perpendicular height of the rocks which enclose it; their rude, barren, and black surface; the perpetual rush of tremendous waters down their sides; the sinuosity of the course; the endless diversity of the forms of the precipices; the savage solitude;---contrasted with a road where the labour and skill of man appears in all its grandeur, and with all its convenience!

How delightful was it to issue out from this frightful sublimity, upon the cheerful plains of Lombardy. The third day (Oct. 17th) brought us to dinner at Milan. In this part of our jour-

ney the *Borromean Islands* formed the most curious feature.

We remained the two following days at Milan, and quitted it on our way to Florence on Wednesday, October 20th. There are numerous objects of attention in Milan, which would have repaid a longer stay; but Winter was approaching, and we were anxious to pass the Appenines before Autumn had closed.

The Gothic Cathedral at Milan is the grand feature of its architecture. It pleases me more than any other Building I have yet seen in Italy. But I have a love of the Gothic style, which it is too late in life to eradicate! The Collections of Pictures in this City have many grand specimens of the Art: but it required more leisure to examine them, than we could spare. But I most regretted that this leisure could not be obtained for an examination of the noble AMBROSIENNE LIBRARY! I caught an hasty sight of the inestimable Virgil, which contains the eloquent and pathetic memorial of LAURA in his own handwriting. And I saw a Fragment of the precious MSS. of Homer, &c. so learnedly and skilfully

deciphered by Abbè Mai. Here are also some noble relics of the divine pencil of Leonardo da Vinci!

All readers of History know something of the *Viscontis*, who long held the Sovereignty here as Dukes of Milan. The family of Sforza, who succeeded them, reigned a much shorter time. The Lives of the Viscontis * have been written by Paulus Jovius, accompanied by their engraved portraits: probably copied from the pictures of them in the Gallery at Florence, which formerly, I believe, belonged to this Author †.

Three families ruled successively at Milan from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century: the Torriani; the Viscontis; the Sforcas.

In 1257, *Martin della Torre*, being put at the head of a faction against the Emperor, took possession of the government. He died 1263. His brother, *Philip*, succeeded him; but died 1265. *Napoleon* della Torre was declared Sovereign of Milan, on the death of his relation,

* See *Vite degli Visconti trad*, par *Domenichi da P. Giovio. Milan*, 1645, 4to.

† See also *P. Jovii Vita Sfortiæ. Romæ*, 1539, 8vo.

Philip. But Otto Visconti, who had been appointed, by Pope Clement IV. Archbishop of Milan, the year of the death of Martin della Torre, was soon placed at the head of a Party against Napoleon, and formed an army, with which he defeated the Torriani, 21st January, 1576.

After this victory Otto Visconti not only again took possession of his See, but was declared *Temporal* Sovereign of the City. Napoleon, after lingering in a prison, died in 1283. The Archbishop (Visconti) ended his days 8th August, 1296, at the age of ninety-seven years.

Mathieu Visconti, nephew of the Archbishop Otto, (a descendant of Elipraud, whom Charles *le Gros* had appointed *Viscount of Milan,*) was acknowledged Sovereign of this City after the death of his Uncle. He had a troublesome and doubtful reign. The Faction of the Torriani joined some neighbouring Princes, jealous of his elevation, to oppose him. Among these was Albert Scotto, Sovereign of Placenza, in resentment for his having obtained for his son Galeas the hand of Beatrix, daughter of Azzo,

Marquis d'Este, who had been destined for his own wife. But Albert covered this enmity with a shew of friendship, and pretended to take the part of a mediator between Albert, and the conspirators against Mathieu, who placed himself in his treacherous hands, and found a prison instead of protection; from which he could only obtain a release at the price of a cession of part of his territories. At length, Scotto, discontented with the Torrani, favoured his design of returning to Milan. Mathieu obtained his recall 7th April, 1311; and was confirmed in the title of Vicar of the Empire, which, however, drew on him the resentment of Pope John XXII. because this title was taken without his permission. The Pope excommunicated him; and finding him regardless of his censures, cited him to his Tribunal to answer to the charges of Heresy and Magic. On his refusal to appear, he declared his goods confiscated, and his dignities gone. This Interdict was placed on Milan and all the other Cities under the dominion of Mathieu. Finding that under the terrors of this Interdict, and by the influence of the Pope's Legate, his Nobles

were disposed to secede from their obedience to him, he abdicated in favour of his eldest son, retired to the monastery of Cresconzago, fell ill of chagrin, and died 27th June the same year, 1321, æt. 62. He was Sovereign not only of Milan, but of Pavia, Placenza, Novarra, Como, Tortona, Alexandria, Bergamo, and other cities. His death was kept secret for fourteen days; and he was buried in a secret place, because he had died under excommunication. His valour, and the force of his genius, obtained him the name of Le Grand. But Muratori says, he was little regretted, because he had oppressed his people, and was not exempt from vices. He left five sons, Galeas, Mark, Luchin, Stephen, and John.

Galeas Visconti, the eldest son, found great difficulty in obtaining the succession to his father's Sovereignty. He found enemies not only among the Guelfes, but also among the Ghibelins, of which his father had been a sort of chief. He sustained the efforts of his enemies with great valour in many battles; but being driven from Milan in 1322, retired to Lodi: but

his presence was soon found necessary, and he was recalled. In 1327 he received the Emperor, Louis of Bavaria, at Milan. But by the intrigues which the jealousy of his brother Mark was guilty of, he became embroiled with the Emperor, who caused him to be arrested on the 20th July, this year, with his two brothers, Luchin and John, who were priests, and conveyed prisoners to Monza. The same day, their other Brother, Stephen, and his son Azzo, died suddenly, of poison according to common report. Louis gave Galeas to understand, that his head should answer it, if he did not surrender to him the castle of Monza in three days. Galeas gave the order, but the Governor would not obey, without the order of Galeas himself in person. Beatrix d'Este, his wife, and their daughter, Ricarda, lifted their hands in prayer to the Governor to obey. In vain: they returned to Milan covered with affliction. The Emperor departed from Milan for Rome, on 12th August. The famous Castruccio Castracani, who accompanied him thither from Tuscany, interceded for the liberty of Galeas, his two brothers, and his

son. The Chiefs of the Ghibelins did the same, and threatening to abandon the Emperor, triumphed over his resistance, and obtained an order for their release. But the fatigues and anxieties of his imprisonment brought on Galeas an illness, of which he died at Bresuà, in August, 1328, aged fifty-one years, leaving, says Muratori, a striking example of the inconstancy of fortune. He had married in 1300, Beatrix, who died 1335, daughter of Obizzo II. Marquis d' Este, by whom he left one son, Azzo.

Azzo Visconti, only son of Galeas, received from the Emperor in January, 1329, for the sum of 25,000 florins of gold, the title of Vicar of the Empire at Milan. In the following month, his uncle, Mark Visconti, having come to Milan, was honourably received by Azzo and his two uncles, Luchin and John, brothers of Mark; but on discovering that he wished to make himself master of the City, they caused him to be secretly strangled. The Cities of Pavia, Verceila, Novarra, Parma, and Reggio, received Azzo for their Sovereign: other Cities did the same. This reception, says Paulus Jovius,

seemed like a piece of enchantment; but it was not strange: for all parts of Italy sought but for foreign masters, capable of extinguishing the spirit of Faction, and of extending to the people the blessings of Peace. In 1336, he possessed himself of Placenza, by siege. Jealous of his success, his relation, Lodrisio Visconti, levied an army, furnished by the Princes of Verona, and invaded the Milanese. Luchin Visconti marched against him, and took him prisoner in a bloody battle, fought on 21st February, 1339. Azzo survived this event but a short time. In May of this year, Death took him from the love of his people, at the age of thirty-seven years. Muratori represents him as an accomplished hero, in whom were united piety, valour, prudence, generosity, sweetness, affability, and all the virtues. Exempt from partiality, he treated with the same equity the Guelfes and the Ghibelins. He married, in 1333, Catherine, daughter of Louis II. of Savoy, Lord of Bugey, by whom he had no children.

Luchin Visconti, his uncle, succeeded in the Sovereignty of Milan. The severity of his

government was the reverse of that of his nephew. This drew upon him the conspiracy of Francis de Posterla, who, on the discovery, fled to Avignon; but, being inveigled back by false promises, was arrested at Verona, and lost his head with those of his sons, and of his accomplices. This act of severity imposed such terror on the Milanese, that they no more revolted. Luchin had from this time his chamber-door guarded by two enormous dogs, who accompanied him wherever he went. The House of Visconti, and the Milanese, were always embroiled with the Holy See. Luchin made peace with Pope Benedict XII. and having thus established tranquillity, and anxious to maintain it in his States, he published many wise laws, to abolish the abuses which times of trouble had introduced. By good fortune and activity, he added to his dominion the Cities of Parma, Asti, Bobbio, Tortona, and Alexandria; and in 1348, took Albe, Quiers, and other lands, extending even to Vinaglio and the Alpes, from Jane, Queen of Naples. His ambition, excited by the troubles which prevailed at Genoa, roused him

to the desire of adding this City to his dominions. In concert with the Dorias, the Spinolas, the Fiesques, the Grimaldis, he levied a strong army, which he sent under the conduct of his natural son Bruzio, to besiege this place. But he did not live long enough to see the event. In all his treaties it was his purpose to make his Confederates work for his own aggrandisement. Having hitherto received the aid of Guido Torelli, he was now deserted by this able friend, who, with Philip Gonzaga, defied the army of Luchin under the walls of Borgoforte. He did not long survive this reverse. He died 24th January, 1349, poisoned, according to some authorities, by his own wife, Isabel de Fiesque, a woman capable of such a crime; for she had two twin sons, whom she boasted to have been the issue, not of her husband, but of his nephew, Galeas: which prevented their succession. One of these died in prison, and the other in exile. She had also a daughter, Catherine, wife of Francis d' Este. Luchin was of so grave a disposition, that he was never seen to smile!

John Visconti, the brother of Luchin, cre-

ated a Cardinal in 1328, and appointed Archbishop of Milan in 1342, succeeded to the temporal power in April 1349, to the satisfaction of the people, and the advantage of his family. Many Cities, gained by his intrigues, or forced by his arms, submitted to him. In 1350 he became master of the City of Bologna, by purchase from John de Pepoli, who had inherited it from his father, Thaddee. Pope Clement VI. having in vain summoned him to surrender this city, attacked him by excommunication, and put his interdict upon Milan. The Prelate remained firm. Thus fulminating in vain, Clement sent his Legate to oblige him to give up Bologna; and to surrender either the Archbishopric of Milan, or the Temporal Domain. The Prelate engaged the Legate to receive his answer the following Sunday in his own cathedral church. He officiated this day himself; and at the Mass, holding up in one hand the Cross, and in the other a naked sword, *Behold*, said he to the Legate, while he put forth the Cross, *the proof of my spiritual power! and behold the Sword, with which I will defend the States that I*

possess! He displayed an equal bravado in the subsequent attempts of the Pope to overawe him. In 1352 he made his peace with the Pope, who gave him possession of Bologna for twelve years at a certain rent. In 1353 Genoa received a Governor from his hands. This warlike Prelate died 5th October, 1354, leaving three natural children.

Mathieu II. Bernabo, and Galeas II. the three sons of *Stephen* Visconti, (who has been already mentioned to have died of poison, with his son Azzo, and who was brother of John,) succeeded to the States in equal portions.

Mathieu II. a lover of his ease, resembled his grandfather, Mathieu le Grand, in nothing but his name. Born with an unwarlike spirit, abandoned to women, he lost with them the strength both of his body and his mind. P. Jovius says, he used strange medicines to excite him to new debauches. A slow fever, occasioned by these excesses, carried him to the tomb on 26th September, 1355. His mother, Valentina, accused his brothers, Bernabo and Galeas, of having administered poison to him in a dish which

he loved. He married Egidiole de Gonzagua, sister to Isabel, married to Rodolph de Hapsbourg, Come d' Inspruck, by whom he had two daughters, Orsina, married to Hugolin de Gonzagua; and Catherine, married to Baldazzar Pusterla, a rich and powerful Prince of that time.

His two brothers inherited his territories, with the exception of Bologna. They obtained the same year, from the Emperor, Charles IV. the Vicariat of Lombardy. Their union enabled them to defend themselves against the powerful league formed by the Florentines with the Marquises of Este, Mantua, and Montferrat. But they could not maintain possession of Genoa. The Genoese, revolting at a foreign yoke, rose against the Milanese officers who had the command of their City, drove them away, and re-established the government of a Doge.

Bernabo Visconti, in 1357, found occupation for his troops, by attacking the Modenese; whence, entering the Bolognese, they were encountered by the forces of the Gonzagas, the Marquis d' Este, and Olegio, who vigorously

repelled them back into their own conntry. They recompensed themselves by taking Borgoforte; whence they passed into the Mantuan territories, and besieged the Capital. Gonzaga, and Comte Lando, by way of diversion, threw themselves into the Milanese, where they committed all to the flame and the sword, which compelled Bernabo's general, Bizozero, to raise the siege of Mantua, and march against them. The two armies met at the passage of the Oglio: that of Bernabo was put to the route, and his General made prisoner. But such was Bernabo's ability, that he knew always how to raise himself from his losses, in such a manner as to become more powerful than before. His enemies began to demand Peace; which was concluded at Milan, 8th June, 1358, in the presence of the ambassadors of the Emperor, Charles IV. But by this signature, the Viscontis did not renounce their views of ambition. Bernabo, and Galeas, resumed the Siege of Pavia, in 1359, which they had commenced in 1356; and forced the place to surrender, after having endured the horrors of famine and pestilence. To bridle the hatred

of these people, Galeas, to whose lot it fell, built a Castle here: and to repeople the City, and restore it to its former lastre, he founded an UNIVERSITY here.

Bernabo always retained in his mind the recovery of Bologna. In 1359, he sent an army against it. In 1362 the league against him was renewed, to which Pope Urban V. was induced to unite himself. Bernabo did not pursue his projects with the less ardour. A grand victory gained over him by Feltrin de Gouzagua did not disconcert him. Bernabo allied himself with Cane de l'Escala, Lord of Verona. The Emperor seeing the inutility of his efforts against the Viscontis, formed a treaty with them the following year. Again they attacked Asti; and another league was formed against them. Bernabo again entered the Modenese; and was attacked by the confederates, whom, after a bloody battle, he put to the route. This facilitated his conquest of Corregio. The confederates sent new forces: the campaign ended by a treaty. The war recommenced the following year, 1373. The troops of Bernabo were beat upon the

Panaro, in the Bolonese, by Sir John Hawkwood, an Englishman, a famous partisan, who having been engaged on the side of the Viscontis, had abandoned them to go into the service of the league. On the 8th May, the same year, Hawkwood gained a second victory over the Viscontis.

In 1375, the affairs of Italy changed their face. Lombardy was no longer the theatre of war: nor the ambition of the Viscontis its source. The tyranny of the officers of Pope Gregory IX. engaged the attention of all the Italian powers: at the same time that it roused all the cities of the Ecclesiastical States. The Queen of Naples, Bernabo, the Florentines, the Pisans, and the Siennese, formed a confederation. More than eighty places threw off the Pope's yoke; and maintained themselves in their revolt, notwithstanding the efforts of Hawkwood and his English.

Bernabo continued to govern his part of the Milanese after the death of Galeas, from whom he tried in vain, to carry away the succession. In 1385, his nephew Jean-Galeas, having dis-

covered a plot against him hatched by this uncle, had him arrested with his two sons, Louis and Raoul, and conducted to the Castle of Trezzo, where with these two sons, it is said that he died of poison on 18th Dec. the same year. At his death immense riches were found in his palace, the fruit of his rapines and insatiable avarice.

Pignotti in his *Storia di Toscana lib.* iv. *cap.* vi. says: " Soverchiatore, e insolente Bernabo governava con dispotica durezza i suoi Stati, odiato dai popoli, e temuto dal nipoter"---" Rimase Bernabo setti mesi prigione nel Castello di Trezzo, dopo i quali morì, e si credette di veleno: non era difficile dopo il descritto avvenimento, immaginarlo, ma sono un lento veleno anche le angustie dell animo, e di siffatte malattie l'istoria politica abbonda, come delle fisiche la medica."* His wife was Beatrice, surnamed *Regina*, daugh-

*Crescenzi in his *Corona della Nobiltà d'Italia*, 1639, 4to. p. 62 says: " Tanto si abbandono nel lezzo della libidine, che vidde vivi ventidue figliuoli bastardi, ed hebbe in uno stesso tempo diece femine gravide del suo seme. Manteneva costui nella sua corte, qual caverna di Polifemo, diece mila Cani da Caccia oltre gli Astorri, i Falconi, e simili animali."

ter of Martino II. *dalla Scala*, 7th Prince of Verona (who died 1351) by Taddea, daughter of James, *le Grand*, de Carrara. Beatrice died at Milan 1384. By her he had five sons and six daughters, which last married into the greatest Houses of Europe. Taddea, wife of Stephen, Duke of Bavaria. Ingolstadt was grandmother of Isabel of France, so memorable for her vices.† By his mistresses Bernabo had also thirteen bastards.

Jean-Galeas, the nephew, now became master of all Milan. Charles Visconti, Prince of Parma, 3d son of Bernabo, saved himself by flight into Bavaria: Martin, his brother, defended himself some time in Brescia, with the aid of the Gonzaguas: but delivered the place at last for a pension. For the price of 100,000 gold florins he purchased of Wenceslaus, King of the Romans, the title of DUKE OF MILAN: and by another diploma, 13th Oct. 1396, Wenceslaus gave up to him the sovereignty over all the the Cities of Lombardy held of the empire.

† "She-Wolf of France." See *Gray's* BARD.

In 1402 the city of Bologna threw themselves under his protection: to which Jean Bentivoglio, Prince of Bologna, fell a victim; being massacred by his subjects. Being at Pavia in this year, Jean-Galeas fell ill of the pestilence, and died on September 4th, 1402. By his wife Catherine, daughter of his uncle Bernabo he left two sons: Jean-Marie; and Philip-Marie, and one daughter Valentina, married to Louis Duke of Orleans. Jean-Galeas was the most celebrated of all the Viscontis. He protected Letters, and the Arts; he fixed the most celebrated men in the University of Pavia. He established order in the administration of his states. He revived the military art in Italy. He finished the magnificent structure of the cathedral at Milan. He encouraged agriculture, and promoted canals. His conquests conducted him to the point of aspiring to be King of Italy. He was severe in enforcing on his subjects that regard to justice, which he violated with impunity himself.

His eldest son, Jean-Marie, born 7th Sept. 1388, became his successor in the Duchy of Milan. As he advanced in age, he developed

the ferocity of his character, which rose to such an height, that in the last years of his life, he exercised his vengeance on those, whom he had condemned to death, by throwing them to be devoured by hungry dogs: and delighted in feasting his eyes on this hideous spectacle. He was poignarded by two officers of his household, 16th May, 1412, æt. 24.

He was succeeded by his brother Philip-Marie, Count of Pavia, who died 14th Aug. 1447, without leaving legitimate issue. He took into his service a great, but unfaithful soldier Franc. Sforza, who having quitted his service, was induced to return to it by toe bribe of receiving in marriage the hand of Blanche-Marie Visconti, the Duke's natural daughter.---This Duke was an able General, and an intrepid soldier; but remarkable for the extreme deceitfulness of his character. He was faithless to his word: what he promised to-day, he retracted to-morrow: he was unchangeable only in his resentments. When vengeance entered his heart, it left no more. Tho' an hero in the field, he was most pusillanimous in his private habits. He was so

frightened at thunder, that at its first sound he hid himself in the deepest cavern: the effect, perhaps, of the remorse he felt for his crimes: and, among the rest, for the cruel death to which he had condemned his first wife, Beatrix, for the false charge of adultery.

Francis Sforza was the natural son of James Attendolo, a simple peasant of Cotignola, who had raised himself by his valour to be constable of the kingdom of Naples, and Gonfalonier of the Roman Church. In 1424, Francis was taken into the favour of the famous Joanna II. Q. of Naples, In 1425, he passed into the service of the Duke of Milan.

On the death of his father-in-law Duke Philip-Marie Visconti, he set up a claim to succeed him in the Duchy of Milan: but he had competitors in the Duke of Savoy; the Venetians; the King of Naples; and Charles, Duke of Orleans, nephew of the late Duke by his sister Valentina. To compromise these claims the Milanese resolved to abolish the Ducal Dignity; and to erect themselves into a republic. They nominated Regents of the State; and gave the command of

their troops to Francis Sforza. But it soon became suspected, from the possession of this power; having therefore agreed with the Venetians in 1449, he leagued himself against his former masters. He blockaded Milan; and threatened them with famine. The people rose, and opened their gates to him; Sforza entered 25th March, 1450; and was solemnly proclaimed DUKE. He governed his states with moderation; and it is said, that never was an Usurper a better Sovereign. He died 8th March, 1466.

He was succeeded by his eldest son Galeas-Marie-Sforza, Duke of Milan, whose reign was a complete tyranny.

Given up to debauchery and tyranny, he incurred the hatred of his subjects. Corio, in his history of Milan, speaks of a journey, which he made with his Duchess, in 1471, to Florence, in which he unnecessarily displayed great pomp. The Grand Duke, Lorenzo de Medici, would not yield to him in magnificence. On his return to Milan, he continued to irritate the citizens by the new fortifications, which he made, as if they were destined to protect himself against them.

Three gentlemen, joining to the public indisposition their own discontents, assassinated him on the 25th December, 1476, in the church of St. Stephen, of Milan. His first wife was Dorothy de Gonzagua, daughter of Louis, Marquis of Mantua, whom, it is said, he caused to be poisoned, the same year, 1460. The same year he remarried Bonne, daughter of Louis, Duke of Savoy; and by her, who died in 1485, had, 1. Jane-Galeas Marie. 2. Hermes, who passed into Germany after the death of his brother. 3. Blanche-Marie, wife, first of Philibert, Duke of Savoy; and secondly, of the Emperor Maximilian; and 4. Anne, married in 1491, to Alfonzo I. Duke of Ferrara.

Jean-Galeas-Marie Sforza, born in 1468, succeeded his father as Duke of Milan, under the tutillage of his mother Bonne, and of Cecco Simonetta, Secretary or State. His uncles, irritated to see themselves excluded from the Regency, came to Milan to excite trouble, and were exiled. But Ludovic-Marie-Sforsa, having entered the Milanese with his troops, three years afterwards, possessed himself of Tortona, marched to Milan;

and obliged the Duchess and her son to give him part of the Government. The ambition of Lodovic did not confine him to this advantage: he wished to be sole Regent. For this purpose he caused the wise Simonetta to be arrested; and had him condemned to lose his head, which was executed on the 30th Oct. 1480, at Pavia. The Duchess Bonne was obliged to retire three days afterwards from Milan. Lodovic become master, left to the young Duke nothing but the title; and exercised himself all the rights of sovereignty. In 1482, he entered into a league with Ferdinand I. King of Naples and the Florentines, against the Venetians. Having in 1484 discovered a conspiracy to replace the government in the hands of the Duchess Bonne, he severely punished the authors. In 1493, he invited Charles VIII. King of France, to come to Italy; and at the same time secretly caballed with the Emperor Maximilian I. and Ferdinand, King of Naples. Charles having arrived in 1494 at Asti, Lodovic waited on him to encourage him in his design. A few days afterwards the death, which this frightful man had prepared, placed him in pos-

session of his wishes. The young Duke, Jean-Galeas-Marie, whom he kept confined in the Castle of Pavia, expired on the 22d October, 1494, at the age of 25 years, of a slow poison, which, it is said his uncle gave him. This young Prince had espoused on the 2d February, 1493, Isabelle, daughter of Alfonso II. King of Naples, who, after his death, retired to Bari, where she died in 1524. By this marriage he had issue Francis Sforsa, who being conveyed by his mother to Louis XII. King of France, became Abbé of Marmoutiers; and Bonne, married in 1518 to Sigismond, King of Poland; and died at Bari 17th Sept. 1558; and Hyppolita, who died in 1501.

The uncle, LUDOVIC-MARIE-SFORZA, born in 1451, became DUKE OF MILAN, in right of the investiture which the Emperor Maximilian I. gave him of the Milanese. One word escaped from Louis, Duke of Orleans, at Asti, of which he was Prince, determined Ludovic to take the part against him. "See the time," said the French Prince on occasion of the success of King Charles in Italy, "when I may prosecute

the rights of my ancestress, Valentine Visconti, on the Milanese." Louis, on ascending the throne of France, put into execution, in 1499, the menaces he had made at Asti. His General, Trivulca, sent into the Milanese with an army, rendered himself master of this Duchy with a rapidity which astonished all Italy. This General was seconded by his nephew Francis Torelli, Count of Montechiarugulo, who distinguished himself at the taking of Milan, where he commanded the army. Louis came himself to take possession of this conquest; and made his entry at Milan, 6th Oct. 1499. But the bad conduct of the French after his departure, made it easy for Ludovic, who had taken fight, to re-enter Milan, in February following, with the aid of 8000 Swiss, joined to the troops with which the Emperor had furnished him. This triumph, however, was of short duration. His imprudence having prompted him to pass with 18,000 men from Milan to Novarra, the French, who were in the neighbourhood, took the resolution to come and besiege him. In vain the Swiss of his party exhorted him not to sustain the siege in a place

badly prepared and provisioned, against an army so considerable as that of the French joined to the Venetians. He was equally deaf to the clamours of the part of his army, who demanded to fight; and chose rather to wait the event in Novarra. The French advanced. It became necessary to take the field. But the Swiss declared that they would not fight against their compatriots, who were in the enemy's army. All that he could obtain from them was, that they would put him in a place of safety; which obliged him to take the habit of a common soldier. He placed himself in the ranks; hoping that in this disguise he should not be recognized when he filed with the Swiss before the French army. But Ludovic could not escape his unhappy destiny. He was betrayed by one of his men, a native of Uri, named Turmann. Immediately the Bailiff of Dijon siezed him, (on the 9th of April, 1500) in defiance of the remonstrances of the Swiss. The traitor became an object of horror to his compatriots. They placed him in irons on his return to his country, and took off his head as a punishment for his crime. As to Lodovic, Louis de la Tremouille, the French Ge-

neral, had him conveyed to France, with the Cardinal Ascane-Marie, his brother; and other Princes of his house. He was then shut up at Pierre-Encise; and afterwards in the Tower of Lys-de St. George, in Berry; and thence conducted, four or five years afterwards, to the Castle of Loches, where he passed the rest of his days, not in a cage of iron, as was said; but served with distinction; and being allowed to walk, for the last year, to the distance of five leagues.--- The common opinion is, that he died in 1510; two cotemporary authors place it in 1508. By Beatrix of Este, daughter of Hercules I. Duke of Ferrara, whom he married in 1491, and who died in 1497, he had two sons, Maximilian; and Francis Mary.

Lovis XII. King of France, rested master of the Milanese, from the time he possessed himself of the person of Lodovic Sforza. In 1505, he obtained of the Emperor Maximilian I. investiture of this Duchy; and again, by a new investiture in 1508. Four years afterwards the Milanese escaped from his possession.

Maximilian Sforza, born in 1491, had been

sent with his brother, by father Ludovic, after his defeat, to the Emperor Maximilian. The league formed in 1512, by the Pope Julius II. and the Emperor, declared him Duke of Milan. On the 15th Dec. of the same year, he made his entry into the Capital of the Duchy, amid the acclamations of the people; but immediately afterwards ran the hazard of losing it. The Castle of Milan was still occupied by the French. Instead of endeavouring to dislodge them, Maximilan took the field to oppose the Generals Trivulca and la Tremouille, whose arms were making a great progress. The City of Milan, finding itself without troops, was ready to rise: but the victory gained by Maximilian near Novarra, on 6th June 1513, reconciled the capital to him. The Castle surrendered itself the following year. Francis I. King of France, having made a new expedition into Italy, gained, on the 13th and 14th Sept. 1515, the celebrated battle of Marignan, which rendered him master in a few days, of almost all the Milanese. The city of Milan having sent the next day, its keys to the Conqueror, this example drew after it the

other cities of the Duchy. Placenza and Parma followed the same fate. Francis I. trusted the government of this last city to Count Francis Torelli, who had served him so well. The Castles of Milan, and Cremona were the only places, which made resistance. Maximilian shut up in the first, could defend himself a long time: but the Constable of Bourbon, having proposed to him to cede to France not only the place, but the Duchy, for a pension of 30,000 ducats of gold, he had the weakness to consent to these offers. In consequence, he quitted the Castle on the 5th Oct. to go to pass the rest of his days ingloriously in France. He died, unmarried at Paris, in June 1530, aged 39.

Francis I. King of France, remained for six years possessor of the Duchy of Milan, of which he confided the government to Odet de Lautrec. The event did not justify the choice. Lautrec alienated the hearts of the Milanese by the severity of his government, and his troops by their indiscipline. The Pope Leo X. irritated by the haughtiness of the Governor to himself, concluded with Charles V. on the 8th May 1521,

a treaty against the French, into which most of the Princes of Italy entered : Prosper Colonna, named General of the Armies of the Allies, with the Marquis of Pescara, beat the French army at Vauri on the Adda, on the 18th November, and the following day having surprised Milan, he took possession of this city; as was the Duchy the following day, by Jerome Maronê, in the name of Francis-Marie-Sforza.

Francis-Marie-Sforza (2d son of Duke Ludovic) arrived from Trent, where he had been for six years, at the end of November at Milan, and was received with great demonstrations of joy. In 1522, the fatal Battle of Bicogna, which the Swiss forced Lautrec to give to the Imperialists, on April the 22d, lost the French the Duchy of Milan, of which Francis-Marie-Sforza took possession. In 1524, Francis I. having arrived in Italy, Sforza at his approach abandoned Milan. He returned the following year, after the victory gained by the Imperialists over the French at the Battle of Pavia*, on the 24th Feb. But the

* See *Gaillard*, Histoire de Franc. 1. Roi de France. Paris 1766---1818. 8vo.

Conquerors left him only the title of Duke; and took into their own hands the reins of government. Jerome Moronè, the Duke's Chancellor, then formed the project of chasing the Imperialists from Italy; and succeeded in getting this scheme adopted by the Pope and the Venetians. The plot was discovered; and the Duke, as an accomplice was declared to have forfeited all his rights; and obliged to deliver up his best places. Antoine de Leve having entered Milan, obliged the inhabitants to take the oath of fidelity to the Emperor. On May 22d, 1526, a league was concluded at Cognac, between the Pope, the King of France, and the Venetians, of which one of the objects was to re-establish the Duke of Milan. But the efforts of the Confederates were powerless and ill-concerted. At length in 1529, Sforza waiting on the Emperor at Bologna, obtained of him, on the 23d December, by the mediation of the Pope, the re-investiture of the Duchy of Milan, for the price of 900,000 ducats of gold, payable at different times; and on other onerous conditions. Three years afterwards, on the 24th of October, 1532, this Duke died without

issue by his wife Christine, daughter of Christiern II. King of Denmark, whom he had married in 1534.

The EMPEROR now took possession of the Milanese, as a fief devolved to the Empire. On the 1st of October, 1540, he gave investiture of this Duchy to his son Philip. This Prince, and all the King's of Spain, his successors, possessed the Milanese till 1706. The Emperor Joseph I. then made himself master of it; and Charles VI. got his possession confirmed by the Treaty of Baden 1714. The Empress Maria-Teresa, transmitted it to her posterity, with whom it has remained, subject to the interval of Napoleon's supremacy. During this interval, the Viceroyship of Eugene Beauharnois was very popular.

LETTER XVI.

Dukes of Parma and Placenza.

6th June, 1820.

WE left Milan late in the day; and slept at Lodi. The bridge, at which Bonaparte fought his famous battle, is a low, mean, flat, structure of wood.

We dined the next day at PLACENZA, which, with Parma, forms part of the dominions of the Ex Empress, Marie-Louise. Here is a celebrated Palace of the *Farnese* family, to whose Ducal Sovereignty it belonged.

Pierre-Louis Farnese, Duc de Castro, received on the 12th August 1545, from Pope Paul III. his father, the investiture of the estates of Parma and Placenza: but the Emperor Charles

V. refused to confirm it. The Duke alienated his subjects by the most licentious manners, and excesses of every kind. He had recourse to cruelty and perfidy to exterminate his nobility. This excited a conspiracy against him. On the 10th September 1547, the conspirators entered the chamber of the palace here, where the Duke was alone ; and having poignarded him, threw his body out of the window, where it was exposed to all sorts of insults of the mob. By Hieronyme Orsine he left three sons. His eldest son, Alexander, who died a Cardinal in 1589, was the founder of the Farnese Palace at Rome.

Octave Farnese, the second son, succeeded on his father's assassination, to the Dukedom of Parma ; but the Castle of Placenza remained in the hands of the Spaniards. By the aid of France, the Duke retained the Parmesan ; and in 1585, recovered this place. He died 18th September 1586, aged 62. By Margaret of Austria, natural daughter of Charles V.(widow of Alexander de Medicis, Duke of Florence) he left issue Alexander.

Alexander, 3d Duke, was born in 1544, and was one of the most eminent Soldiers of his age. Philip II. appointed him Governor of the Low Countries, in 1578. He died at Arras, 3d Dec. 1592, aged 48, from the effects of an injury he had received at the Siege of Rouen. His body was conveyed to Parma, where he had built the citadel; and his statue in bronze, on horseback; the work of the famous sculptor, John of Bologna, is one of the ornaments of the Grand Place of this City. He married Marie, granddaughter of Emanuel, King of Portugal.

Ranuce I. his eldest son, born in the Netherlands 1569, became fourth Duke of Parma and Placenza. Muratori speaks of him as of a lofty character; a great politician; but sombre and melancholy, always nursing in his thoughts suspicions, which troubled his own repose, and that of others. He saw in his subjects only enemies, incessantly recollecting the fatal catastrophe of his ancestor, Pierre-Louis. Thus disposed, he studied to make himself less loved, than feared: always ready to punish; and seldom conferring favours. His subjects returned hatred for the

terror, with which he inspired them. What his alarms predicted, befell him in 1612. He discovered a conspiracy against him formed in the preceding year, of which the principal authors were the Marquis de San-Vitali; the Countess de Sala; the Count Horace Simonetta, her husband; the Count Pio Torelli;* the Count Alfonse and the Marquis Jerome San-Vitali; the Count Jerome de Corrégio; the Count J. B. Mazzi, and others. They were siezed; condemned; and beheaded. The confiscation of their fiefs greatly augmented the Prince's domain. The Duke Ranuce died suddenly 1622, aged 53. His statue, on horseback, in bronze, accompanies that of his father, Alexander, in the Grand Place of Placenza. He married Margaret Aldrovandin, the Pope's niece.

Edward, his second son, born 28th April, 1612, succeeded him as Duke of Parma and Placenza; his elder brother, being born deaf and dumb.

* A son and nephew of Pio Torelli escaped by being transported in the night by the Franciscans of Monte-Chiarugolo to the dominions of Modena; and Joseph, one of them, became ancestor of Stanislas II. King of Poland, 1764.

He died 12th Sept. 1646, aged 34. Muratori says that this Duke was reckoned among the "beaux-esprits" of his age. He enchanted the world by his brilliant conversation, in which, however, there was too much tendency to satire, a fault dangerous in private characters; but much less prudent in Princes. Among his splendid qualities, the most remarkable were his magnificence; his grandeur of mind, and his liberality. He had ministers, not to give him advice; but to execute his will; and as he had a fervid mind, bent upon great things, he easily deceived himself; and formed resolves superior to his means. His wife was Margaret de Medicis, daughter to the Grand Duke, Ferdinand II. who survived till 1679.

His eldest son, Ranuce II. became 6th Duke. He was born 1630, and died 11th December, 1694, aged 64. He inherited a principality so exhausted by wars, that he could scarcely subsist with decency. He had three wives; Margaret Yolande, daughter of Victor-Amédée I. Duke of Savoy, who died 1663: secondly, Isabel d'Este drughter of Fra. I. Duke of Modena, who

died 1666: thirdly, Marie d'Este, her sister. The last was the mother of the two last Dukes of this house. The second was the grand-mother of Elizabeth, married to Philip V. King of Spain. Muratori says that this Duke Ranuce was a Prince full of valour; a good economist; but generous and liberal on proper occasions; zealous for justice even to severity; and who made himself less loved, than dreaded.

Francis succeeded his father as 7th Duke; (his elder half-brother, Edward, having died before his father Duke Ranuce, 5th Sept. 1693, leaving no issue male.) He died 26th Feb. 1727, without issue by his wife Dorothy, daughter of Philip-William, Elector-Palatine; widow of his brother. Edward.

His brother, Anthony, born 29th Nov. 1679, succeeded as 8th Duke of Parma. He died 20th January, 1731, aged 51, without issue by his Duchess Henriette-Marie, daughter of Renard, Duke of Modena. He was a large strong man, who loved good living, and his ease.

After this Duke's death the Imperial troops siezed on the Duchess of Parma and Placenza, as vacant fiefs of the Empire.

Don Carlos, Infant of Spain, son of Philip V. by Elizabeth Farnese, daughter of Edward, (who died before his father,) eldest son of the Duke Ranuce II. claimed the inheritance of Parma and Placenza, in virtue of the Treaty of the Quadruple Alliance, and of another concluded at Vienna, 30th April, 1725, between the Emperor Charles VI. and the King of Spain. The Princess Dorothy, grandmother of Don Carlos, took possession of these Duchies in her grandson's name, 29th December, 1731; and ordered the Imperial troops to retire. Don Carlos made his entry at Parma and Plaisance. in October 1732; In 1734 this Prince, having acquired the Kingdom of Naples, ceded the Duchies of Parma and Placenza. In 1748, by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the Duchies of Parma, Placenza, and Guastalla, were ceded by the Queen of Hungary to Don Philip, Infant of Spain, to him and his heirs male, with a clause of reversion, in the event of his coming either to the throne of the two Sicilies, or to that of Spain.

Don Philip, Infant of Spain, born 15th March 1720, arrived at Parma, and took possession of

these Duchies, 7th March, 1749. He had married 1738, Louise-Elizabeth, daughter of Louis XV. who died of the small pox at Versailles, 6th Dec. 1759. The Duke, Don Philip, also died of the same malady, 18th July, 1763, aged 43.

Don Ferdinand, his eldest son, succeeded to the Duchies of Parma, Placenza, and Guastalla. He was born 20th Jan. 1751. He married 27th June, 1769, the Arch-Duchess Marie-Amelie-Josephe-Jeanne-Antoinette, daughter of the Emperor Francis, who died in 1804. The Duke died 9th Oct. 1802.

His son, Don Louis, born 5th July, 1773, did not succeed to these Duchies, of which Bonaparte took possession by virtue of the Convention of Madrid, 21st March, 1801; by which Tuscany was ceded to Don Louis with the title of *King of Etruria,* in indemnity for the Duchies of Parma, Placenza, and Guastalla. He died 27th May, 1803, æt. 30, having married Marie-Louise, Infanta of Spain, Duchess of Lucca, born 6th July, 1782. By her he left issue a daughter Marie-Louise-Charlotte, born 1st Oct. 1802; and an only son; viz.

Charles Louis, born 23d Dec. 1799, who became *King of Etruria*, under the Regency of his mother, 27th May, 1803; and was despoiled of his Estates by Bonaparte, 10th Dec. 1807. The events of 1813, restored Tuscany to the Archduke Ferdinand; and these Duchies being assigned for life to the Ex-Empress Marie-Louise, the Congress of Vienna assigned provisionally to the House of Parma the *Duchy of Lucca*, till they should re-enter upon their patrimony.

Marie-Louise was declared Duchess of Parma, Placenza, and Guastalla, by the Acts of the Congress of Vienna, 9th June 1815, and 10th June, 1817. She was born 12th Dec. 1791, and married to Napoleon, 1st April 1810. Her son Francis Joseph Charles was born 20th March 1811.

LETTER XVII.

Apology for the long interval between the dates of these Letters ---Reflections on intervening Events---Aim of the Publication---Common Character of Travels.

Naples, 22d July, 1820.

MY Narrative has not kept pace with the passage of Time. Nine months have elapsed; of which six were spent at Florence, from 27th Oct. 1819 to 27th April, 1820. Florence is superabundant in interesting matter of history political and literary, in all that regards the noblest efforts of Genius; of Poetry; and the Fine Arts. The very copiousness almost frightens me from commencing to touch upon them.

This task, from which I should at any time shrink, is more especially at the present moment inopportune to my inclinations. I am now in the

midst of a Revolution of another Italian Principality of far larger extent, and more ancient establishment--which for its present tranquil character, and the other peculiar circumstances attending it, has no parallel in the annals of political changes. It would seem to display extraordinary phlegm, if during the period of such a pressure of interest in favour of the present both in time and place, I should waste my attention on remote occurrences; and more idle and unnecessary curiosities.

But perhaps in a volume, which, it is hoped, may aspire to something better than the gratification of momentary intelligence, the crisis at which we have yet arrived is not sufficiently advanced to venture opinions, which must be crude, and relations of facts, of which the character is not yet sufficiently developed.

On the whole therefore it will be better not to break the natural train of my Narrative. To write upon the spot, and at the moment, has many advantages: but it has also some important defects. It is not till the first effervescence has subsided; and time has given an opportunity to the heavy and unimportant to sink, and leave buoyant only

what has in it the spirit of life, that our opinions and our selection of facts can ever attain that maturity and mellowness, which continue to please after the charm of novelty has ceased.

The hasty traveller, always under the impulse of loco-motion, or the feverish colouring of new impressions, neither conveys, nor receives the ideas, which sober experience would approve.

These Letters have been written at long and tedious intervals. My printer's patience has no doubt been exhausted. It may seem strange, that I could not be induced oftener to take up my pen for this purpose. But I have not been idle. Funds of new knowledge have been opened upon me in floods. My weak memory; my feeble health; my exhausted spirits, have been ill-calculated to meet the gigantic tasks, that have solicited my attention. How much I regret that an earlier commencement had not given me a chance of mastering the immense range of Italian literature! In literary history no country is so fertile! And, what is singular, the compilation of other European countries have not taken adequate advantage of this apparatus. The noblest poets, the greatest histo-

rians, the finest scholars, after the revival of learning, all rose in Italy; and principally in Tuscany. Something of this, it is true, is familiar to the English reader through the volumes of Roscoe;* and Mathias has endeavoured to furnish them with the means of judging of its *Lyrical* Poetry.† But Roscoe wanted the advantage of a personal residence in Italy; and Matthias's collection is necessarily slight both in quantity, biography, and criticism, because it was intended for popular use.

If it be satisfactory to the reader that on most occasions I have looked into Original Works; and derived nothing from compilers in the historical and literary notices I have had occasion to communicate, he may rest assured, that such has been my custom. It is not always in the power of a traveller, to consult the books, to which he would wish to refer; he cannot carry

* Lorenzo de Medici; and Leo X. See also Shepherd's Life of Politian.

† Componimenti Lirici, reprinted at Naples, 1819, in 4 slight 8vo. vols.

a library about with him. I have therefore omitted the mention of innumerable things, which though they were fairly on my memory, I could not cite with sufficient exactness and fidelity, to justify committing them to paper. All vulgar aids, all second-hand information, I have rejected in conformity to my preponderant principle.

As to the common guides, and most of the popular books of travels, useful as they are as pocket-companions, they seldom convey even the slightest sketches of the information, on which an inquisitive mind is most desirous to have his memory refreshed. They are merely Topographical and Statistical;---scarce in the smallest degree historical.

When a traveller proposes to give a description of the society and manners of a nation, province, or city, he undertakes a very interesting and profound Topic. But when the talents, the sagacity, the rare opportunity, the time necessary to execute this perilous task with discrimination and truth, are considered, it will appear an effort sufficiently ludicrous on the part of a common tour-writer!

What is in the power of books best sought on the spot to give; what the hints derived from personal intercourse with learned men may facilitate: what the sight of monuments; what the prospect of the features of nature; what the external appearance of a people, their dress, their occupations, their customs, may suggest, is all within the range of the easy performance of a traveller of a cultivated mind, and moderate abilities. He may write a useful book: his associations of ideas and images may be refreshed, and improved; and he may communicate this improvement to those who peruse his pages.

A foreigner sees peculiarity in many things, which are unnoticed by a native; and rejects as common many things, on which a native erroneously prides himself. He would therefore perhaps reject many things as superflous; and supply others, in which they have been omissive.

It is in this way that he may advantageously recast their information; and derive the due advantage from their writings.

But, alas, how many works of travellers are written to feed the rage of *temporary* politics! to

furnish exemples of some momentary whim of opinion ! to exalt by exaggerated praise : to make odious by exaggerated contrast ! to convey under the new form of a flowery disguise the poison of mischievous principles ! or to gratify the vulgar curiosity of vulgar minds !

To such, to recall what has passed in the long roll of departed ages, the succession of a country's princes, its wars, its violences, its conquests, its misfortunes, is to revive the dull and stultified annals of barbarous ancestors, whom it becomes the wise to pity and forget ! all is to be a parade of philosophy, and reason, and new illumination !

KENT:

Printed at the private Press of Lee Priory.

BY JOHN WARWICK.

LETTERS

FROM

THE CONTINENT.

PART II.

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Preface.

Geneva, 21st November, 1821.

THE Printer being desirous not to delay the publication of another Volume (or Part) of the *Letters from the Continent,* it becomes necessary to say something by way of Preface; which I should have done before the *First Part,* if I had been aware of the time when it was brought to a conclusion. I was, however, at that period in a remote part of Italy.

It might have been adviseable to have prepared the reader for that which was intended to be offered to him. Yet the First Letter declared that it was the Writer's positive resolution, to refrain from adding another to the already superabundant heap of Works, called *Tours* and *Travels.* He hears therefore with some surprise the complaint, that he has not been more of a Tourist.

Whether the matter, which he has brought forward is or is not of curiosity or use, it must be for the sound-minded to judge. It is that, of which he had himself found the want, among books of modern circulation. He does not pretend that it required much effort of intellect, or any extraordinary erudition to produce it; but it required a search among works a little out of the common track.

One of the great purposes and one of the highest gratifications to a cultivated taste in a visit to Italy, is the opportunity of materializing the associations of the ideas of the

past with the present. This country is not merely Classic ground; but here was the scene of the revival of Literature: and here occurred a large portion of the most interesting events and features of the Middle Ages.

There is scarce a large City in Italy, which was not the seat of a separate Principality in those Ages. Whether these separate Principalities were a good, or an evil, is a question irrelevant to the present consideration: that they have augmented the subjects of exercise to the memory and fancy of the Traveller is certain.

The two modern Works on Italy most in the hands of the English, before that of *Lady Morgan*, (of which the public Journals have said too much to allow another word,) are those of *Eustace* and *Forsyth*. The latter is the highly-endowed Gentleman, who has the goodness to inform his readers, *that* REDI *and* PIGNOTTI *are two far better Poets than* PETRARCH!! having learned, (I believe, at the head of an Academy at Newington-Butts,) how to instruct the fine Ladies and Gentlemen from the environs of Grosvenor Square, in their future appreciation of Italian genius.

But both these very profound productions, which have so happily hit the popular feeling, pass over Milan, Parma, Modena, Bologna, Mantua, Ferrara, &c. with scarce a mention of the Viscontis, Sforzas, Farneses, Bentivoglios, Gonzagas, Estes, &c.

The conjuration by which any clear idea of the History of this part of the Continent in the Middle Ages, and of what

is most remarkable in its great Cities, can be formed, without a distinct conception of the leading events and characters of these Families, far exceeds that of any common magic! If indeed the Traveller goes only to behold Nature and scenery; and even extends his observations to modern manners, the case is different. But a great part of that which gives interest to the study of the Arts is wanting; and almost all that excites the attention of the scholar and the man of deep reflection, is deficient in its first materials.

All the objects which a common Tourist desires to visit, are sufficiently described in the local *Guides*, which every considerable place furnishes; and almost all the intelligence which the generality of *Travels* supply is purloined, and repeated in a disguised form, from these sources.

With regard to modern manners and habits of society, how slight and superficial is the knowledge which is picked up by these Authors! Their views of politics are equally ignorant and prejudiced. Of this I had a personal opportunity of witnessing the most glaring instances at Naples and Rome, in the Autumn of 1820, and the Spring of 1821, during the commencement, progress, and termination of the Neapolitan Revolution. But on this topic I shall probably have occasion to say much more hereafter.

The hasty manner, in which a large portion of the English pass over the Continent, is inconsistent with those calm, sober, and well-regulated impressions, which it becomes an enlightened mind to cultivate. Novelty is apt to

give a false effect, of which transitoriness is the very essence. I am persuaded that such momentary views rather mislead than inform the judgement; and that a traveller of this sort has less correct ideas on his return even than he had before he set out.

I lived a year and seven months in Italy, from 13th October 1819, to 9th May 1821; and during this period I gave myself up to its literature with the ardour which is a part of my nature. The additional knowledge, which has poured in upon me, is too multifarious to find vent in any small space, or short time. If little of it has appeared in these Letters, it has partly arisen from a desire, (perhaps ill-judged) to clear the ground, and lay the foundation; and partly from following the order of the Route, which has hitherto kept my reader from arriving at the Cities where I spent most of my time. Half a year at Florence; seven months at Naples; and four months at Rome, enabled me to take a calm survey of those illustrious Cities.

If my mind was not directed to the same points of observation as is usual to, and required from the generality of Travellers, it ought not to be assumed that on that account it was less properly employed. Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture all alike go to see in this once-glorious part of the world; but to describe them adequately demands the pen of an eloquent professor of these wonderful Arts: the uninstructed admiration and affected praise of a scribbling Tourist is insufferably impertinent and odious.

It is the mental temperament, and general conclusions produced on those habituated to think, and capable of thinking with vigour and justness, by a residence in these places, that a reader seeking the moral knowledge most prized by the highest classes of intellect, desires to learn.

With the little paltry details of temporary ton, or temporary costume, no wise man would degrade his pages,--any more than with the adventures of the post, the perils of the road, or the hardships of mean accommodation.

Scenery indeed is a noble field of description: but it requires powers of so high a kind; and those powers in so happy a mood, that I, for one, have shrunk from it, where I had to describe views, of which so many gifted geniuses have already given sketches. I took no notes at the time; and I now find that my recollections are too general for local pictures.

The passage over the Alps and the Appenines no fancy capable of receiving vivid impressions can ever forget. It was on two October days, of wind and rain and sunshine by fits, that we first mounted over the latter: mighty and terriffic gust were frequently crossing between the Adriatic and the Mediterranean: and then the sun broke out again, and all was serene and balmy; and the beech and chesnut groves in the hollows, and feathering down the slopes of the mountains, their leaves all of gold, half-strewing the ground, or glittering in the renewed rays of that gentle splendor, which attends the departing year, seemed like a vision of Romance,

too full of colours and shapes of enchantment for the exhibitions of reality! It rained again hideously, and a black night came on before we reached our humble resting-place on the Mountains; which we found full of Travellers; and ill-calculated to accommodate us! A bright morning shone on our descent into Tuscany: but after mid-day we entered Florence under torrents of rain.

Multitudes of English overflowed through this beautiful City. The noble Gallery was beset with throngs to gaze with wondering eyes upon the Paintings; and to look with scanning curiosity on the Venus de Medicis, whose inimitable proportions were examined with a dangerous eagerness, and whose slender and inimitable grace was willingly mistaken by the ladies of small stature for the perfect height.

But I forget that my Letters have not yet conducted my readers to Florence.

Is it asked, what merit I claim for the Historical, Genealogical, and Biographical memorials, which I have given?---None!----They are compiled from Books not rare, but voluminous; and seldom within an English reader's range. They may not be the less useful, because they tend little to prove the Author's talents or learning.

To be a mere compiler is certainly but an humble occupation in literature: but I am not much afraid of incurring this contemptuous designation. I have indulged myself in too many walks of composition, and been too excursive in the labours of my mind to dread such a censure. What is

here presented to the Public is indeed a mere trifle compared with all in which I have employed myself during the same period.

But we are "fallen upon evil days;" upon days of unqualified bitterness and malignity. The Populace, great and small, are the rulers of the Public mind. The critical Works in fashion are seasoned to their palates; and the highest delight is to bait an Author; and as Book-making is become a mercenary profession, it is useless to praise any production not formed to gratify popular prejudices.

From the moment that the Press became the slave of the Public, it became an evil rather than a good. * It gave authority to the test of vulgar opinion; and submitted all judgments to the passions of the multitude.

It is the ignorance of the Age, which allows it to assume to itself the credit of peculiar enlightenment: for this ignorance shuts from it the opportunity of comparison. Men now venture to become Authors, who are unacquainted with the true models of composition; and who are utterly unapprized of what has been already elucidated; and still more of the reasonings or facts by which it has been established or confirmed.

Scholars formerly held the pen: and habituated to look to future times for their reward, they felt a responsibility beyond what a mere plausible covering might give to what

* It appears to me that this is the idea with which *Cornelius Agrippa* sets out in his Tract, *De Vanitate Scientiarum.*

they wrote. It is necessary that an Author should write from conviction, not merely as an advocate. Every thing is now hollow; corrupt; and calculated for momentary effect; for piquancy, and vendability!

All regard to past opinions is called *Prejudice:* and every witling affects to set up on the stock of his own ideas; and to judge for himself. Is the simpleton aware how little a way the greatest genius can proceed in literature without building on the stock of his predecessors? How far could Bacon or Newton have advanced, if they had not commenced at a forward point, to which ages had been clearing the way for them? What could Dante, or Tasso, or Milton have done but for the stores of antiquity?

Flippant scribblers now arise; and without erudition, without reflection, without experience, undertake to reverse all the characters of History; to rejudge all those, on whom their cotemporaries, and the wisest and best-informed of posterity, have pronounced a verdict; and to speak of things according to the view which their own superficial, presumptuous, and twilight understandings, or malignant and degrading passions present. Is there no weight in authority? Is there no deference to integrity; and long-exercised and deeply-matured ability? But "*Lo! I, the Oracle come forth; and all else shall be silent, and dumb!*" Our ancestors shall be pronounced to have been all fools, or flatterers, or slaves!

Are there any words of contempt and derision sufficient for this ineffable arrogance of ignorant stupidity? All of wis-

dom and truth that can now be said, has been said before;---and generally better said!

I have been blamed for endeavouring to draw back the Public notice to the Latin writers soon after the revival of Literature, especially those of Italy,---the *Demi-Ancients*, as Le-Clerc properly calls them. It is asked, who reads modern Latin? If no one reads such books, it follows that no one consults the sources of modern History, either Literary, or Political! that no one is a scholar! that no one studies the new birth of genius undepressed by a semi-barbarous language! that no one can guess at what an height of polish, and eloquence, and wisdom, the Learned of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries had arrived! But this disgraceful charge is far from universally true! From what sources has *M. Sismondi* written his *History of the Italian Republics?* * From what sources is he now composing his *History of France?* From what sources did *Gibbon* draw the latter volumes of his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire?* The Author, who is in general content to rest without consulting *original* authorities, (and indeed original editions,) is a *Charlatan*, who does not deserve the name of LEARNED!

Most modern books are so utterly sophisticated; so full of tinsel; so deficient in solid and honest ingredients, that with the novelty of the phrase, the type, and the paper, the charm evaporates, before the volumes have been a month on the shelves! Who turns back to them for any sound know-

* 16 *vols.* 8*vo.* 2*d Ed. Paris* 1818.

ledge? Who refers to them for an happy elucidation of nice questions in morality? Who seeks them for felicity of language, and beauty of illustration?

I have at length come to the determination to conclude these Letters abruptly. I know not to what point of those Letters, sent from Naples in 1820, my Printer has reached. It is for his benefit that they have been written; and I give him leave to close the press at what part of the MS. suits his convenience. He says that the Booksellers demand of him to finish these Letters and the *Sylvan Wanderer*, before they will engage to take any thing else off his hands.

The inconvenience of supplying him with Copy at all times, while visiting remote regions of the Continent; the impossibility of a proper superintendance of the Press at all times, while military duties call my son from home; the losses from long delay, incurred by this Printer, who as he has all the emolument is subjected to the risk of these publications, which he is ill-prepared to endure; (even after all the expensive assistance, which, though never engaged for, has in fact been amply extended to him,) make it more prudent to incur the alternative of exposing myself to malignant criticisms for giving to the Public an imperfect Work, than to let an helpless individual suffer by the circumstances in which he is placed.

There is a limit to all things. The Lee Press was set up at the earnest and repeated desire and for the exclusive benefit of the two Printers originally engaged in it. As I

would have disdained to have had any concern with the produce; so I deemed it prudent to take every precaution which I could suggest, to protect myself from every part of the expence.

These precautions were vain: the expenses were heavy to me, while in England; and have been heavy to my Son, since my absence.

The publications, which I have given to the World, in *thirty-seven* years, are beyond my power of enumeration. Of all, which have been at my own risk, (and they have been not a few,) neither the expences, nor probably one half the expences in printing and paper have ever been returned to me. Of those undertaken by Booksellers, I have never received, nor asked, *one shilling of copy money!* I am forced to make this declaration, because the base heart of mankind thirsting only for lucre, thinks that I like them could only be actuated by mercenary motives in my multifarious labours.

I have now completed my fifty-ninth year; and the pecuniary returns of literature have never up to this hour reached the value of a single sixpence; except in the voluntary presents of Books which the publishers made to me for the immense labour in editing the *New Edition of Collins's Peerage!*

On the other hand I have spent a little fortune among Printers, Stationers, and Engravers! This has been among the prime amusements of my life: and how could I have endured the gigantic injuries and oppressions, by which I

have been pursued, unless my mind had indulged itself in some favourite and oblivious recreation?

The same passion adheres to me amid the inconveniences of a mitigratory life; and in the three last years I have equally sought occupation in the employment of Foreign Presses.

In 1819, I printed at GENEVA. 1. A Volume on *Population and Riches.* 2. *Coningsby, a Tragic Tale.* 3. *Lord Brokenhurst, a Tragic Tale.*

In 1820, I printed at FLORENCE. 4. *Sir Ralph Willoughby, a Tale.* 5. *Alaviæ Regiæ.* 60 copies only for private use.

In the same year I printed at NAPLES. 6. *Res Literariæ, Vol. I.* only 75 copies.

In 1821, I printed at ROME. 7. *Res Literariæ, Vol.* 2.

In the *Autumn* of the same year I printed at GENEVA. 8. *Valerianus de Infelicitate Literatorum, Editio Nova.* 87 copies. 9. *What are Riches? an examination into the definitions of that subject.* 100 copies.

In 1822, I am completing at the same place. 10. *Res Literariæ, Vol* 3. nearly finished. 11. *The Anti-Critic, Vol I.* nearly finished. 12. *Lamento di Strozzi, &c.* 12 *copies.* 13. *Libellus Gebensis. Poemata Selecta Latina mediæ et infirmæ ætatis.* 97 copies.

Besides I have concluded the Tale of 14. *The Hall of Hellingsley.* 3 *vols* 12*mo.* which has been published by *Messrs. Longman and Co. London.*

When I undertook to write the LETTERS, of which all that will be printed, are now offered to the Public, I hoped that the difficulties which I have experienced in carrying them through the Press, would not have occurred. The consequence of these difficulties has been, that they have taken an entirely different character from that which was intended at their outset. They have been written at long intervals; at inconvenient seasons; under a perpetual interruption of the proper train of ideas; "in sickness, and in sorrow;" with an exhausted frame, and wearied spirits.

I submit therefore to the censure of my friends that they are dull; and the matter of them deficient in general interest. I know as well as they do the seasoning which the flavour of modern taste requires. It costs not quite as much ingenuity as they seem to think. He, who will descend to it, may easily attain the art of it.

Nearly three years' study of Italian literature; a residence of seven months at Naples at a most important crisis, followed by four months at Rome during the same crisis, have, when matured by calm recollection, taught me most important intellectual and political lessons. These would have redeemed the dullness or emptiness of what is already printed. But I am willing that they should expire in my bosom! Let them go, without leaving a trace of their passage!

My *political* speculations would have been as little fashionable as my *literary!* I as little belong to any political as to any literary Coterie! I have no interest at the conflicting

Courts of Mess^rs. Constable, or Murray! with the latter there is an *interior Cabinet*, not understood by the uninitiated who apparently espouse the same line in politics!

But the day will come, when all these factitious interests will avail nothing: when every literary production must stand upon its own intrinsic merits: when intrigue and personal interest must cease: when the gratification of temporary passions can no longer operate: when truth, and native fancy and eloquence, must prevail!

In the long course of thirty-seven years, amid the innumerable things which I have given to the Press, I am not conscious of having printed a single page of which I am ashamed: any thing, which whatever interest or merit, (if any,) it then possessed, it does not possess still!

If neglect, and discouragement could have made the pen drop from my hand, I should long ago have dropped it. It is the intrinsic pleasure of the employment; the undaunted consciousness of an innocent, virtuous, and exalting occupation, which carries me calmly forward. I leave Charlatanism to its little reign, without envy or disturbance! I leave some to fill their pockets, and others to tickle their ears with sounds of outrivalling Shakespeare; and brilliant encomia that pale the splendor of departed Genius! If I can but engage the sympathy of the very few, who think for themselves, I am content!

LETTERS

FROM THE CONTINENT.

PART II.

LETTER XVIII.

Reggio birth place of Ariosto---Learned Men of Modena, Castelvetro, Tassoni, Muratori, Tiraboschi &c.

Naples, 24th July, 1820.

ONE of the greatest ornaments of PARMA was Antonio Allegri, called CORREGIO, the famous Painter: born at *Corregio* in the Modenese in 1494. He owed the whole of his progress in the Art to his wonderful genius rather than to Masters. He died 5th March, 1534, aged 40.

He was the Founder of the PARMIGIAN School of Painting, by which name for its excellence the School of *Lombardy* is known.

"Il carattere dominante della scuola parmigiana, che per excellenza dicesi anco la lombarda, è lo scorto, come della fiorentina la espressione de' nervi, e de' muscoli: nè serve aggiungere, che ancor qui si è da alcuni caricato e affettuto lo scorto, come ivi il nudo: l' imitar bene è difficile in ogni luogo. Entra pur nel carattere della scuola lo studio del chiaroscuro, e de' panni più che quello del corpo umano, nel quale pochi si contano veramente valenti. I lor contorni son larghi, i volti non tanto ideali, quanto scelti fra mezzo alla nazione che gli produce ben ritondati, e ben coloriti, e spezzo di quelle fattezze e di quella giocondità, che si stima originale nel Corregio: cosi notava un professore stato gran tempo in Parma" *

Whosoever is desirous of having a critical idea of Corregio's excellencies will do well to consult Lanzi's elegant and learned *Storia Pittorica d'Italia.*

Parmigiano and Lanfranc were also celebrated ornaments of Parma.

Ariosto was a native of Reggio. The family was ancient: it had been transplanted from Bologna to Ferrara; had made honorable alliances; and had even contracted a marriage with the princely House of Este, in the person of Lippa,

* Lanzi Storia Pittorica della Italia, Edit. 4. Pisa, 1816. 12mo. vol IV. p. 87.

or Filippa Ariosta, who was first the concubine, and afterwards the wife of Obizzo III. Sovereign of Ferrara; which princess died in 1347, three years before her husband.

Nicolas, the poet's Father, was 4th son of Rinaldo Ariosto. He had the title of Count as well as his brothers Francesco, and Ludovico, conferred on him by the Emperor Frederic on his visit to Ferrara 1469. Hercules, Duke of Ferrara, appointed him Captain of the Citadel of Reggio. He held this post 1474, when his eldest son, Lodovico was born. His wife was Daria, daughter of Gabriele Malaguzzi, a Noble of Reggio, a Doctor of medicine, by Taddea de' Valeri, (a family originally of Parma.) Gabriele was a man of science and a poet.

Over a House in the Piazza adjoining the Cathedral of Reggio, is the following Inscription.

LUDOVICUS ARIOSTUS.

POETA PRÆCLARISSIMUS MANU PROPRIO CAROLI V. IMPER: LAUREATUS NATUS REGII EX MATRE DARIA MALAGUTICI DE VALERIIS IN CAMERA MEDIA PRIMI ORDINIS ERGA PLATEAS ANNO MCCCCLXXIV. DIE VIII. SEPTEMBRIS.

Baruffaldi gives satisfactory reasons to conclude that the Poet was not born here: but in the Citadel: and that this House, which is asserted to have belong'd to the mother's family, did not come in their possession till long afterwards: and that the Inscription must have been of a date, at least half a Century posterior to the Poet's death.

A Memoir of Ariosto would occupy too much space in these Letters. But as something requires to be said of his general character, perhaps there may be most novelty at present in reviving the Sketch of a learned Cotemporary. The old Biographers were deficient in many of the attractions possessed by modern authors in this department. They were general and declamatory; and wanted the criticism, the precision, the minuteness of those, whom the last Century has produced. But these last in searching for what is new, or particular, have often wandered too far from original impressions; and buried the great outlines of feature in a mass of incumbering pettinesses. It becomes therefore sometimes instructive, if not necessary, to recur for the characters

of the Great Dead, long departed, to these original Memorialists.

I will therefore copy the character of our Poet by the celebrated PAULUS JOVIUS in his *Elogia Virorum Literis Illustrium Basil*, 1577, *Folio*.

" Ludovicus Ariostus nobili genere *Ferrariæ* natus, cum paterna hæreditas inter numerosam fratrum sobolem diducta, ipsi pertennis obvenisset, ingenium in literis vigilanter exercuit, ut certo nobilique præsidio familiæ nomen tueretur. Sed uti pari prope necessitatis et gloriæ stimulo vehementer excitatus, feliciore certe judicio inter primos Etruscæ linguæ poetas celebrari, quam inter Latinos in secundis gradibus consistere maluit: quod ejus industriæ labor, cum eruditis ac idiotis latissime dispensatus, uberiorem præsentis præmii, et diffusæ laudis fructum ostenderet. Adhæsit comes Hippolyto atestino Cardinali in Pannoniam profecto: quum ille erudito ac illustri comitatu apud reges Hungaros ambitiosè gauderet: sed iterum euntem, quum sequi recusasset, usque adeo graviter offendit, ut pene implacabilis odii discrimen adierit. Receptus inde est ab Alfonso Principe tanquam horarum omnium amicus, et sodalis, cujus benigna manu urbanam domum extruxit peramæna hortorum ubertate, frugi mensæ quotidianos sumptus adæquantem. In eo autem civili otio, extra aulæ strepitum poemata factitavit: satyras in primis mordaci sale conspersas, ac item comæ-

dias plures theatrali voluptate sæpe repetitas inter eas autem, maxime *Suppositi* excellunt, inventionis atque successus amænitate cum Plautinis facilè contendentes, si utriusque Seculi mores non ineptè comparentur. Sed luculentissimum, ob idque forsitan æternum id volumen existimatur, quo Orlandi *fabulosi Herois* admiranda bello facinora, octonario modulo decantavit, *Boiardo* herclè, ipsoque *Pulcio* peregregiè superatis. Quandoquidem et hunc rerum, et Carminum accurata granditate devicerit: ac illum surrepto inventionis titulo, ac eo quidem variis elegantioris doctrinæ luminibus illustrato penitus extinxerit. Cuncta enim evolvisse volumina videtur, ut sibi undique collecta gratia, ex jucundissimis floribus longe pulcherrimam, ideoque perennem, quo lepidum caput ornaretur coronam intexeret. Interiit in patria salari ætatis anno, quum diu pectoris angustia ex pituitæ stillicidio laborasset. Hoc autem Carmen vivens composuit, ut *Sepulchro* incideretur.

Ludovici Ariosti humantur ossa
Sub hoc marmore, seu sub hac humo: seu
Sub quicquid voluit benignus hæres:
Sive hærede benignior comes: seu
Opportunius incidens viator:
Nam scire haud potuit futura, sed nec
Tanti erat vacuam sibi cadaver:
Ut urnam cuperet parare vivens,
Vivens ista tamen sibi paravit,
Quæ scribi voluit suo sepulchro,
Olim si quod haberet is sepulchrum:

Ne cum spiritus hoc brevi peracto
Præscripto spacio misellus artus,
Quos ægre ante reliquerat, reposcet:
Hac, et hac cinerem hunc et hunc revellens:
Dum noscat proprium, diu vagetur.

Cælii Calcagnini

Tu repetas cælum, et terras Arioste, relinquis
Et loca jam meritis inferiora tuis.
Nos miseri, et curis longè mortalibus acti,
Non tibi, sed nobis fundimus has lachrymas.
Gloria te nivcis subducit in æthera bigis;
Nos sine te luctu perpetuo opprimimur.

Latomi

Arma, virumque canens, Etruscæ carmina Musæ,
Palmam Virgilio vel tribuente refers.
Scit sua te melius patrio sermone Latina,
Quàm sese Latio Graia referre sono. * †

* Giambatista Pigna published an Edition of Orlando Furioso, Ferrara, 1521. 4^to^. (40 Cantos) Again Venice, 1556, 4^to^. by Valgrisi, with a Life of the Poet prefixed. This Life again appeared in the *Variorum* Edition, Venice 1584, 4^to^.

Giambatista Pigna, the Historian of the House of Este, was not born till 1529, 8 years after the first edition of the other Pigna's *Orlando Furioso*.

† Paulus Jovius was born at Como in the Milanese 19th

Modena has a fine Library; and has been the birthplace, or residence of many eminent men. See *Dottori Modonesi---opera di D. Lodovico Vedriani da Modena*, 1655, 4to. adorned with Portraits; most of them spirited; and some well engraved.

Lodovico Castelvetro, the Commentator on Petrarch was a Modenese: so also Alessandro Tassoni author of the celebrated poem, the Secchia Rapita.

April, 1483. He passed a part of his youth in Como, Padua, Pavia, and Milan. In Pavia he studied Medicine, and began to practice this Art in Como, and Milan. In this science he obtained the notice of Leo X. In 1528, he was made Bishop of Nocera. In 1549, he retired to Como, and in 1550, to Florence, where he died on the 11 Dec. 1552, aged 69. His Funeral was honoured by all the Court of Cosmo de Medici, and his body was honorably buried in the Church of St. Lorenzo. His merits procured him many rich benefices, besides a pension from Charles V. The Duke of Milan, the Farnese, the Estes, the Dukes of Urbino, the Medici, the Gonzaghi, distinguish'd him. It would seem impossible that Jovius could write so much, while his time was occupied in Travels, in literary leisure, in the offices and visits of Courts; in the pleasant suppers of the Cardinals Farnese, and Carpi. He was too apt to lavish his praise, or his blame according to his private passions. It was said that he boasted that he had two pens, one of gold; the other of iron; and that he could use either as he had occasion. His *Elogia of Famous Men* were

Castelvetro was of a noble Family at Modena, where he was born 1505. He studied in the principal Universities of Italy, Bologna, Ferrara, Padua and Siena. Thence he went to Rome under the patronage of his relation Giovanni Maria dalla Porta, a Noble Modenese. From Rome he returned to his favourite studies at Siena, and cultivated Greek, Latin, and Italian Literature. By his intense application, he now fell into extreme ill health, and could only use a vegatable diet. At his Father's desire he returned to Modena,

written in his delightful Villa on the Lake of Como, where he had collected Portraits of these distinguished Persons. which these Elogia were intended to accompany. These Portraits formed the Foundation of the Series, which now adorn the Gallery at Florence. All his Works were collected and published in 6 vols. Folio, *Basil*, 1578. See a severe character of this Author in *Ritratti Poetici Storici, e Critici of App. Ann. de Faba* (viz. Appiano Buonafede) 2 *vols.* 8^vo^. *(6th. Edit.) Veniæ*, 1796 *vol.* 1. *p.* 268. "Egli si credè di poter esse signore e tiranno in una provincia, ov' era vassallo, e credè di poter sacrificare al suo utile la verità, sulla quale non avea verun diritto; di poter fare della menzogna una fruttuosa mercantanzia; e di poter usare le indipendenze e i privilegi de' pittori e de' poeti. Per le quali cose si ode tra gli eruditi un giusto lamento, che la venalità del Giovio abbia deturpato il candor della storia." See also *Thuanus*, and *Boyle*,

where he continued the same course of Life; and exerted himself to promote Letters in his native City. About 1537 it was at his persuasion that Francesco Porto, a Greek a native of Candia was called to lecture in the Greek tongue at Modena. Porto remained here till 1546, when he was called to Ferrara with a rich provision by Duke Hercules II. who was intent upon drawing celebrated men to the University of Ferrara. The vacant Chair was soon filled by *Carlo Sigonio* a Citizen of Modena, who afterwards became one of the most famous and learned men, not only of Italy, but of all Italy. Another Contemporary and friend of Castelvetro, who honoured Modena by his learning was *Giovanni Grileuzone*, a Citizen and Physician here, of whom Castelvetro has written some memorials preserved by Muratori.

In 1540 Modena could shew among its living Citizen, (besides Castelvetro and Grileuzone)

1. Cardinal *Jacopo Sadoleto*, one of the greatest Luminaries of the Sacred College; to which his printed works bear testimony.

2. Cardinal *Tommaso Badia*, Master of the Sacred Palace, famous for his Sanctity and pro-

found Knowledge.

3. Cardinal *Gregorio Cortese,* a worthy emulator of Sadoleto, in skill in the Greek and Latin Languages, an illustrious Poet and Theologian, as his Books shew.

4. *Giovanne Moroni,* Bishop of Modena, created Cardinal 1542 by Paul III, one of the most learned and illustrious of the Purple, who sustained the honour of the Roman Church in the Council of Trent, and at Rome; for though he was by birth a Milanese, he was educated from infancy in Modena; here made his studies; and was honoured with his father with the Citizenship, and afterwards with the Mitre of this City

5. *Gabriello Fallopia,* eminent for his science, and his medical works.

All these men, versed in the Greek, and Latin languages, had great obligations to Castelvetro.

To these may be added,

6. *Francesco Maria Molza,* famous for his Latin and Italian poetry.

7. *Gandolfo Porrino,* whose RIMAS were in great credit.

8. *Antonio Fiordibello,* Canon of the Cathedral

1537; Bishop of Lavello, 1558; and together with the celebrated Monsignor Giovanni dalla Casa Secretary of Paul IV. and Paul V. a man in great reputation for his Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, Literature.

9. In the same degree of Secretary to Pope Julio III. served *Paulo Sadoleto,* son of a cousin of Cardinal Jacobo; famous as a Philosopher, and Theologian; and for his great eloquence in the Greek and Latin Tongues.

10. *Benedetto Manzuolo,* afterwards Bishop of Reggio, an excellent philosopher, and delicate Poet.

11. *Giovan Maria Barbieri,* the companion of Castelvetro's studies; afterwards Chancellor and Secretary of the State; an excellent Italian Poet, who had given much of his attention to the ancient Italian language, in which Castelvetro delighted.

12. *Agostino Gadaldino,* who profited by his learning and example, whose posterity flourished in illustrious rank at Venice; and who translated from Greek into Latin various works of Galen, Oribasius, and other Greek physicians. In these Studies he had an imitator in.

13. *Niccollo Macchella*, wellknown to learned Physicians by his translations from the Greek; and his works in Medicine.

Castelvetro was esteemed as another Socrates in his native City. At this time the doctrines of Luther having spread even into Italy, the literary societies of Modena, supposed to have caught the taint raised the jealousy and vigilance of the Court of Rome. But Cardinal Jacopo Sadoleto from love of his native City took advantage of his power to endeavour to appease these suspicions.

In 1553 commenced Castelvetro's literary quarrel with *Annibal Caro.** This poet had written a CANZONE in praise of the *Casa Farnese*; and in deification of the Royal House of France. This was so superlatively commended by the friends of Caro; as to be placed equal or superior to Petrarch. Among many Modenese then at Rome was Aurelio Bellincini, a man of learning, into whose hands this Canzone of Caro came; and who marvelling at the admiration,

* Annibal Caro was a poet of a great name and a fertile pen, born in Civitanova in the Marches of Ancona, 1507, and Secretary to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.

yet unwilling to trust his own judgment sent it to Castelvetro, requesting his opinion. Castelvetro, as was his custom with his friends, freely gave his thoughts on this production in twenty words or little more; but begged Bellincini not to talk about it; and not to say it was his: not because he felt doubtful of the truth of his criticism: but because he considered Caro a person of a poor and base condition mounted into a high place by the favour of a Great Prince, and by his faculty of poetizing: and that he would deeply resent the freedom of any one who could call into doubt the beauty and merit of his verses; and would not want a pretext to say or do any thing his passions should prompt him towards such an offender.

Bellincini betrayed the opinion; but without discovering the Author. This however Caro soon learned through Gasparo Calori, a Modenese; and vented his rage in Rome by the most opprobrious invectives. Literati, and especially poets, have seldom much philosophy; and do not like to have their conquests in the fields of Fame and Glory disturbed. Hence arise wars more fierce

than the Princes of the World make for temporal Kingdoms. Thus Caro commenced, and carried on his war furiously; while Castelvetro in his defence kept the temper of a philosopher always serious and reasonable without descending to injuries, invectives, and scorn. Defences and Replies rapidly followed each other: but Caro was not willing to trust alone to the force of his pen: he called in a more efficacious instrument; the processes of the *Holy Inquisition*! In aid of his writing, he called in many of the Literati then at Rome, who were friends of the House of Farnese; especially *Benedetto Varchi; and Giovan Francesco Commendone*, afterwards Cardinal; both persons of great power in the Italian language, as well as the Latin; and also in Poetry, and Oratory. They introduced all sorts of buffoonery into their attacks; and stuffed them with all sorts of scandal and bitterness. They required to have these Libels distributed in M S, not only through Rome; but through other Cities of Italy, in the hope that the poison might produce its effect while the means should be kept concealed from the Victim. Castelvetro perceived the effect,

without being able to get at so distinct a knowledge of particulars, as would enable him to know on what points to defend himself.

At length in 1558, five years after the commencement of the controversy, this secret Libel was published under the title of *Apologia degli Accademici di Banchi di Roma contra Lodovico Castelvetro in difesa della sequente Canzone del Commendatore Annibal Caro. ---- Parma, par Viotti.*

It took little time to Castelvetro to write an answer. But he did not publish it till 1560, under the following title, according to Muratori.

" *Di Lodovico Castelvetro Ragionedi alcune cose segnate nella canzone di Annibal Caro: Venite all' ombra de' gran Gigli d' oro.* Venezia presso Andrea Arrivabene.

But a copy of an early Edition, I believe the *original and very rare* Edition now lies before me, of which this is the exact title:

RAGIONE D' ALCUNE COSE SEGNATE
NELLA CANZONE D' ANNIBAL
CARO.
VENITE AL' OMBRA DE GRAN
GIGLI D' ORO

[A rude Cut of an Owl sitting on a fallen Urn]

KEKPIKA. *

without date, small 4^to^. p. 116. besides 4 pages of Contents.

In his first page he mentions Caro having given to the world his *Apologia degli Academi di Banchi di Roma* printed at Parma in Nov. 1558, after five years study.

The Heads of Castelvetro's Tract are

1. Mala Elettione di parole forestreri.
2. Mala Formatione di Traslationi
3. Parole di significato nocivo.
4. Parole di significato improprio.
5. Guastamento dell' uso della lingua.
6. Vilta di parole.

* See Poggiali--Testi di Lingua. 11. 186.

7. Falsita di sentimenti.
8. Nocumento di sentimenti.
9. Superflita di sentimenti.
10. Difeto di Sentimenti.
11. Ignoranza di Lod. Castelvetro.
12. Vilta di Lod. Castelvetro.
13. Malvagita di Lod. Castelvetro.
14. Canzone d' An. Caro.
15. Commento di An. Caro.
16. Parer di Lod. Castelvetro.
17. Dichiaratione di Lod. Castelvetro.

To this Work of Castelvetro, Caro made no reply. But his friend Benedetto Varchi, a Florentine, a man of letters of great credit in those times, but satirical, took the occasion of his Dialogues on Language to defend him against the censures of Castelvetro. But for whatever reason this did not appear in print till 1570, four years after his death. It then appeared from the Press of Filippo Giunti at Florence thus: *L' Ercolano Dialogo di Benedetto Varchi, nel quale* si ragiona *generalmente delle Lingue &c. composto dalui sull occasione della disputa occorsa*

tra'l Commendator Caro, Lodovico Castelvetro. Though at this time Castelvetro was a wanderer, and in countries where he could not command Books, and under the aggravation of various misfortunes, almost on the point of death, yet when this production of Varchi came under his eyes, he could not refrain from giving an Answer, by the mere strength of his memory, to show that the *Dialogue* was erroneous in the whole, or major part of its principal points. And certainly this Argument on *Language* was in his province; and such as a *Litterateur* so practised and sagacious in these studies could throw light upon. But Death, which seized him in the following year, Feb. 1571, did not permit him to continue; much less, to complete these studies. There existed only a first draught, that is, some pieces, not read over, or corrected, which yet his Brother Giovan-Maria Castelvetro, judged with reason to be worthy of the light; and published the following year 1572, in Basil under the title of *Correzione di alcune Cose del Dialogo delle Lingue del Varchi per Lodovico Castelvetro.* But in his lifetime these had been published in Bo-

logne from the printing office of Alessandro Benacci, 1567, *Discorso di Girolamo Zoppio intorno al alcuni oppozioni di Lodovico Castelvetro, alla Canzone de' Gigli d' oro composta da Annibal Caro in lode di Real Casa di Francia.* Castelvetro probably knew nothing of the publication of this little piece.

Such was the course of the literary controversy between Caro and Castelvetro. Many learned and powerful persons endeavoured to make peace between these Litigants, to which Castelvetro was inclined; but which Caro remained obstinately averse to.

On the contrary Caro sought among the bad Citizens of Modena, (and such are to be found in all Cities,) for evidence to support a charge of heresy against Castelvetro. He found out that in 1556 there had been a bad understanding between his adversary, and his brother Paul, who, having been a spendthrift was many times fraternally admonished without amendment. This irritated him so much, that he joined with Caro against his Brother. The accusation is black; and not lightly to be made; but it seems too true

that Caro wished to oppress his adversary by one of the most tremendous Tribunals of Rome.

Castelvetro was accordingly cited to appear before this Tribunal; where though he had nothing to fear from any consciousness of guilt, he had much to fear from the power of such an enemy as Caro, and his supporters. He concealed himself therefore in the States of the Duke of Ferrara till the Pontificate of Paul IV. of the House of Caraffa. Then his friends advised him to go to Rome to purge himself of the Calumny; and especially Egidio Foscherari, Bishop of Modena. At length he obeyed in company with his Brother *Giovan-Maria:* and going to Rome with a safe conduct presented himself before the Cardinals in Assembly. After many disputes, the Convent of Santa Maria in Vice, was assigned for his prison; but without requiring Bail; and with liberty to consult with whom he pleased, which attracted to him the continual visits of Gentlemen, and Men of Letters, desirous to know the person of one so distinguished for his wisdom and acquirements.

Many were the examinations of Castelvetro

made by Brother Tommasso da Vigevano, deputed for this Process, who with the Chancellor of the Holy Inquisition tried the means to discover his guilt; but finding nothing in Lodovico but good habits and profound science, he came to severer methods, threatening both him, and his brother Giovan-Maria with the most frightful treatment, if they did not confess the faults laid to their charge; Castelvetro remained firm, confiding in his innocence. But hearing afterwards that Cardinal Alessandrino, afterwards Pope Pius V, remarkable for his severity to whosoever was accused or suspected of Heresy, threw out great threats against every one subjected to the processes of the Inquisition, the Sage's courage began to fail; and especially from reflecting on the character of the Enemies he had at Rome; so that his fears increased so strongly, as to throw him into a melancholy, which made him imagine that he always saw a Bailiff at his heels ready to confine him within the miserable walls of a prison. Then he lamented to his Brother his regret at having been the occasion of bringing him also into so cruel a situation. But Giovan-Maria

endeavoured to reason him out of these fears; representing the integrity of the Sacred Tribunal; and that the Innocent might well place their reliance on Heaven; but Lodovico replied by other strong reasoning, shewing the foundation of these terrors, notwithstanding he felt conscious of no fault. Thus, notwithstanding the comfort of his conscience, the ideas of the threatened dangers so increased upon him, that he resolved to take flight. He accordingly escaped from the Monastery, and from Rome; and in company with his Brother bent his way towards Lombardy.

They got safe through their journey, though they had run through difficulties and perils, by the necessity of frequenting bye-roads, to avoid falling into the hands of the Officers and Govenors of the Pontifical States, as they had good intelligence, that Letters were immediately sent out to search for and arrest the Fugitives.

"I do not" says Muratori, "undertake to defend, or excuse Castelvetro; because I am equally ignorant of the accusations, and on the other hand of the justifications and grounds of Defence of my illustrious Fellow-Citizen. Flight seems

the indication of Guilt: but is not always the mark of a wicked cause: it may sometimes accompany innocence, and a right conscience. Judges may be misled; and are subject to the secret operation of powerful Passions; and the means of discovering Truth may be used to obtain credit for Falsehood." Whatever was the case of Castelvetro, he thought that the only safety was in flight from enemies so powerful, in times when Governments were so severe. He might well dread the suspicion of being misrepresented amid the discord of the dogmas of the Catholic Church, and of being exposed to the malignant Zealots, who had prisons and torments always at hand. He had two striking examples before him from his own City. *Cardinal Morone;* and *Egidio Foscherari.* The former filled the Episcopal Chair of Modena from 1529 to 1550, with the highest applause. But in the time of Pope Paul IV. Caraffa, remarkable for his fiery and indiscreet zeal, he fell under suspicion, was confined a prisoner in the Castle of St. Angelo; and and would probably have been deprived of the Purple and other dignities, but for the timely

death of the Pope 1559. He survived to die in glory at Rome Bishop of Ostia, 1580. Foscherari his friend incurred the same hazard; and long languished miserably till the same pontiff's death released him. He died at Rome 1564.

It must not therefore be marvelled, that while Paul IV. lived, Castelvetro had not the courage to stand his Trial at Rome; and that he deemed his best safety in flight. Annibal Caro was not slow in taking advantage of this event; and with the aid of his protectors caused Castelvetro to be condemned, and excommunicated for contumacy, on the presumption that he was guilty of the charges made against him: and this Sentence was published in the usual form. His Brother, Giovan-Maria, for having kept him company was rigorously cited to Rome under penalty of excommunication, and not having obeyed this Citation, was obliged to become a Wanderer with his Brother, to the great injury of himself and his family, Now Caro had the triumph of seeing his adversary depressed: not indeed by his literary attacts; but by ill Fortune. However he enjoyed this victory but a few years. Hav-

ing requested of his old Patron Cardinal Farnese to give up to one of his nephews a Commandery of Malta of the rent of 1000 scudi, formerly obtained notwithstanding the baseness of his birth through this Cardinal; and being refused this favour, he immediately requested a release from his service. The Cardinal answered bitterly this request; reproached him with his former favours; undeservedly, as he said, conferred on him; and more especially for having been the occasion of his discountenancing *the greatest Literateur of that age;* as was attested by Count Jacopo Boschetti, a Noble Bolonese, then in the Cardinals Service. By these words the miserable old man was struck to the heart, having lost, besides the hope of accomodating his nephew, the favour of his Patron, whom he had so many years served in the office of Secretary: and thus he died on 28 Nov. 1566. *

Castelvetro, having fled into Lombardy con-

* Caro translated Virgil's Æneid into Italian Verse. The most rare Edition is that of Venice 1581, 4^to^. See two sonnets of Caro in *Matthias's Componimenti,* IV. 144. 145.

cealed himself for that winter in a Villa in the Province of Modena; and was at that time kindly received by Count Ercole Contrario in his territory of Vignola, and afterwards secretly in his Palace in Ferrara, a resort then common to all the Literati. But having soon afterwards heard of his condemnation, and of all the severe edicts against the planners, accomplices, and favourers of Heresy, he resolved to yield to his fate, and retire out of Italy with his Brother Giovan-Maria. In the first favourable opening therefore of the year 1561 he departed for Chiavenna near the Lake of Como, in the Republic (or Canton) of the Grisons, where he found Francesco Porto, the Greek already mentioned, his old friend, who received him with the greatest kindness. This Territory was but small; and of little fertility, inhabited by a small population, intent only on traffic and lucre: Castelvetro thefore begun to think of going into France, where he did not want friends, who having heard of his misfortunes, invited him thither with large promises. Porto was about to set off to Paris on his own affairs; when he took upon himself to procure

that also of his friend. He set forwards for Lyons; but passing through Geneva, the Republic of that City applied to him to remain there to read Lectures in the Greek language, which the good Greek accepted: and took up his residence there with his family. The French friends of Castelvetro did not refrain from soliciting him to pass into their country: and sent him money for his journey: but as he began to fall into age; and was subject to a suppression of urine, which caused him great torments, instead of going, he sent his Brother to carry back the money; and to make his excuses, that being prevented by his maladies from visiting them, he could not accept their generous offers.

Another motive for not leaving the Territory of Chiavenna was that he found himself in the neighbourhood of TRENT where the famous COUNCIL was held: and thence he indulged a hope of finding a way out of the Labyrinth in which he had so long been involved. In 1561 he made various applications to this venerable assembly, representing the calumnies, which had undeservedly been thrown upon him; and the Sentence fulmi-

nated against him from Rome; what happened the Reader may find in the *History of the Council of Trent* * by the celebrated pen of the Cardinal *Sforza Pallavicino*, (Liv XV. cap. 10.)

All the efforts of Castelvetro, which merited a more kind reception, could gain nothing; and seeing the Council of Trent about to end, he began to lose all hope of recovering his quiet; and of beholding an end to his misfortunes. For this reason; or from the increased invitations of the French; or perhaps from the desire, which he had to find air, food, and wine more favourable to his debiliated and melancholy Constitution; he went to Lyons in France; and there took up his Station. How much time he spent at Lyons is unknown; certainly not a little; for he there composed his *Comment on the Poeties of Aristotle.* It is beyond doubt, that while Castelvetro was here quietly enjoying his sojourn in this great City, that the Civil Wars broke out between the Catholics and the Hugonots. On this occasion according to custom the houses of the innocent were pillaged; and among them that of the unhappy Castelvetro. Thus the two

* Printed at Rome in 1656, in 2 Vols. Fol.

Modenese found themselves most unwillingly involved in these noisy and dangerous tumults; and had no remedy but in flight.

Having with great difficulty, obtained of the Governor the escort of two Halberdiers, who accompanied them one league out of Lyons; when they travelled in company with other Fugitives for the safety of their persons. But as one misfortune never comes alone, armed bravos on the road came on their backs; robbed them; and with difficulty spared their lives. Castelvetro so entirely lost his courage, and his strength, that he could scarcely move his feet; and before he could get out of the danger, it was necessary to travel three miles; and on foot; a thing impossible for him. But God did not abandon him in this Strait; for there came on the road a Ferrarese Gentleman, who, having heard that he had departed from Lyons, recognized him; made two of his Servants dismount from their horses; and put upon them the two Modenese; and carried them away with him in safety. In his portmanteau Castelvetro had brought with him besides his apparel, some of his best printed Books that

he could find; and what was worse, his MSS, among which a *Grammar on his Native Tongue;* a *Comment on the greater part of the Dialogues of Plato;* and a *Judgement on the Comedies of Plautus and Terence;* all written in the Italian language; and of which there only remain a few fragments of his hand, which came into the possession of Muratori. The *Comments* which he had written on the *Comedia of Dante*, and which he had tried to recompose, were not conducted beyond the XXIX Cap. of the *Inferno.* At that time his *Translation of the New Testament* into Italian, was missing; bnt a copy having been luckily left in the hands of a Friend, it was recovered.

Having given a copy of his *Comment on the Poeties of Aristotle* when just finished to Girolamo Arnolfino, Merchant of Lucca, to save it from this tempest, and return it, this faithless man could by no instances be prevailed on to restore it; and this literary labour would probably have been entirely lost; but that luckily another Copy had been made by him, and sent to Modena some months before.

Castelvetro having escaped in this manner from these dangers, went to Geneva, where he was received most kindly by Francesco Porto; and remained there till he could replace his apparel, and replenish his pocket, not turning to his first resting place at Chiavenna, till he had made a sojourn of more than a year. His greatest comfort and restorer in this solitude was the friendship and familiarity, which he formed with *Ridolfo Salice* a Gentleman of one of the most noble and powerful families of the Grisons; a Colonel under the Emperor, Maxamilian II, with whom he was a great favourite; and who had shewn him benefits and courtesies in all sorts of offices.

Immediately the fame of Castelvetro's knowledge attracted there many youths desirous to obtain the Greek Letters; and he consented to give them in private a Lecture on Homer, &c.

But his brother Giovan-Maria, having been sent to the Imperial Court at Vienna, brought back the protection of the Emperor, Maximilian: and the two Brothers thought it better to trans-

fer themselves thither, as to a noble port in those hazardous times.

During his stay at Vienna Ludovico was so kindly received by Maximilian, that having been advised by his friends to publish his *Exposition of the Poetics of Aristotle*, he determined to dedicate it to this his most August Protector; and had it printed in that City.

Soon after rose a suspicion of the Plague in Vienna, and he, who would not voluntarily be present at this new and dismal Tragedy, judged it better to return to Chiavenna, where he ended his unfortunate life 21 Feb. 1571.

He passed his youth in the company of the noble, the accomplished, and the lettered; in the exercise of arms, of the lance and the sword; in dancing and such other toils as keep the body in health. Having moderated his love of study, he returned early to it; but from that time no longer enjoyed a sound constitution; and was afterwards tormented with continual maladies.

He cared not for the honours, nor riches, nor pleasures, after which most men so eagerly run; and though frequently invited by great men into

their service he could not bear to be the companion of this worldly greatness, from his abhorence of those chains, which, though they might be of *gold*, were still *chains!* Among these was the Cardinal *Bernardino Maffeo*, who invited him to Rome; that is, to the most frequented Emporium of the best Wits: and *Vitellozzo Vitelli*, afterwards Cardinal, who had formed a strict intimacy with him at Padua, who said he had learned more from his familiar reasonings, than from all the pompous Lectures of the Public Readers of the University.

He had a great love of changing his climate; and of travelling, not from the vain curiosity of feeding his eyes with the *Material* part of Cities; but to profit by the conversation of the Learned, who then flourished in Italy at a distance from his native spot.

On his Mother's death he went to Pisa, having a great desire to know personally *Francesco Robortello*, who then read Lectures with great celebrity at that University. He afterwards formed so strict an intimacy with him at Venice and at Padua, that Robortello deeply interested

himself to assist him against Caro: but he did not accept the offer; though he had great want of subsidiaries in this War.

Castelvetro went equally to Florence to seek the acquaintance of *Pier Vittorio*, or rather *Vettori*, one of the most learned and famous persons, which Italy then had in the science of the Greek and Latin Literature.

From Florence he went to Padua, an University then abounding in Professors and men of great Literature, into whose friendship he introduced himself; and gained great reputation among various Gentlemen, lovers of Letters, who sojourned in that City.

Castelvetro was a man of honorable, and excellent habits; and no one received any other than good advice from him. Zealous to serve his friends and relations, he spared no fatigue to help the oppressed, and console the afflicted. Besides the lessons, which he gave with so much kindness and courtesy to the youth of his own country, he endeavoured to serve every one who had resort to him; nor was there a dissention

among the Citizens, of which the reconcilement was not committed to him.

He saw his House always frequented by the most noble and honourable of his countrymen; and himself universally beloved through the whole City. Among the Nobles who especially distinguished him was Count *Alessandro Rangone*, who venerated him as a Father; and visited him every day, while he remained in his Country; and in his exile always sought to assist him in every manner he could. His conversation was always of great profit to those, who were lovers of literature; and he had the talent of relating in the most agreeable manner the adventures with which he had become acquainted more especially of the time, during which he had studied at Rome. It was his custom to converse in a low voice; and with few words; a habit, which appears in his writings, which abound with sense and thoughts, and are marked by that clearness, which is one of the greatest excellencies of style.

He was steady in abstemiousness of food, partly from virtue; and partly from his habitual

ill health. His dress was simple; and even austere. He never married; and abhorred all sensual luxuries. Persecution and adversity could not shake the fortitude of his mind, so long as he enjoyed liberty; and he sustained exile for fifteen years with intrepidity and patience observing that to a brave man every place was his country.

He was naturally irascible; but by reason and virtue moderated this heat; and easily pardoned those who offended him, except in literary disputes, in which, when his adversaries were obstinate, he was obstinate also; and the more eminent they were, the more he exerted himself to oppose them. He had disputes with many; but with none so bitter, or so prejudicial to his quiet, as with Annibal Caro. He was accustomed to say, that he did not enter into contests with able men, but to benefit the world by searching out the truth of things: that he was not instigated by any passion: that his study was not from ambition; nor for his own private benefit; but only for the honourable recreation of his mind; and to point out to others that which he believed to be true, or the best.

Many contend that his genius was peculiarly censorious and critical. It is certain that he could not have arrived at great fame in literature, if he had not discovered the base and the false; and other defects in the writings and conduct of others. But it is necessary to guard against the excess of such studies; as all are liable to faults and errors: and we ought to refrain from searching only for that which we may reprehend and oppose in their works, as if all were blind and negligent but ourselves. He certainly was fond of censure, and literary war: and this his natural inclination appears in the features, which the painter has preserved of his countenance; not open, but ruffled and gloomy. Torquato Tasso, who praised and esteemed this learned man, yet mentions in one of his Letters, that he found in his Books something peevish and fantastical, which he disliked; and a certain desire to sink others who came under his hands, which displeased him. Yet it is true, that Castelvetro was not professedly a Cynic, nor properly Satirical and biting; but he was too subtle; and refined too much on the opinions and compositions of

others; and sometimes over-argued points in the wish to explain defects. This he was more especially accustomed to do in his greener years. But his judgment encreased with age; and his sentiments became more just and moderate. But he never ceased to be over-acute; and too easy in finding faults, where they did not exist.

As he loved to contradict, and to censure, in consequence of that philosophical and penetrating spirit, which urged him to reflect, and subtilize on every subject, which came before him; so he was little loved by many; though not the less venerated, especially in matters of Rhetoric, poetry, and grammar, in which he was most eminent; and above all, for his singular skill in language. He had also a good knowledge of Hebrew, having had for a Master a certain *Davide Gindeo*, a Modenese; a man, who not only possessed this language; but was a Philosopher, and Theologian not to be despised.

He had also acquired great skill in the *Provençal* language; having had for guide *Giovan-Maria Barbieri*, a Modenese, who, if he was not the only one, was certainly the most eminent for

his knowledge in this Tongue. Associated with him, he translated many *Canzons* of ARNALDO DANIELLO, and of many other *Provençal Poets;* and perhaps to these able men belonged that most precious and very ancient MS. of the *Rimes of the Provençals,* preserved in the *Bibliotheca Estense.* They also translated into Italian the *Lives of these Poets;* and a *Provençal Grammar* by a good Author; and other things belonging to this Language, with a view to have them all printed, as they were pressed to by many persons; and especially by *Alessandro Beccadelli, Archbishop of Ragusa.* But from the persecutions, which befell Castelvetro; and from other interruptions, the design was dropped; and their labours were dispersed; which might have been of great use to *Giovan-Maria Crescimbeni,* and the Canon *Antonio Bastero* of Barcelona, who in the commencement of the last Century laboured not a little at Rome to illustrate this language, and its ancient Poets. *

* *Nostradamus* wrote the Lives of thè *Provençal Poets* in French, in the middle of the XVI th. Century. This was soon after translated into Italian by *Gindici,* and printed at

Unquestionably Castelvetro was without a rival in the knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages. He composed in the first both in prose, and in verse; and wrote with no ordinary purity and elegance, imitating, as much as possible, the stile of Cæsar, and of Cicero; deeming Cæsar superior in purity to the other; delighting much in the copiousness and sweetness of Ovid; but still more the sobriety and grandeur of Virgil, whom yet he held inferior in invention and other gifts to Homer.

But his forte was in Latin poetry; for this he was held in most value by *Giovanni Guidiccioni; Marco Antonio Flaminio; Giraldi the elder; Pigna*, and others. Cardinal *Bembo* also highly commended some of his Latin verses, as the best of that age. Some of his Latin Verses

Lyons 1575. 8vo. *Crescimbeni* made a new Translation with Notes and Additions, *Roma*, 1722, 4to. now scarce. *Dela Curue St Palaye* made great Collections for a History of the Troubadours; and Millet wrote their Lives, *Paris* 1773, 3 vols. 12mo. from St Palayes MSS.

Selections from Troubadour Poetry have been lately publishing at Paris by *Renouard*, with Notes and Observations Critical and Biographical.

have seen the light; but the greater part are lost.

Castelvetro was also a marvellous Master of the Greek Tongue; at that time cultivated with so much application by the Italians, and especially the Modenese; and now so much neglected. He composed many Epigrams in this language, and made many Translations from it. His *Translation and Exposition of Aristotle's Poetics* printed at Vienna, 1570; and again at Basil, 1576; and his last *Commentary on the Dialogues of Plato* were proofs of his skill.

By such skill in language and such acuteness of talent, he became almost miraculous in deducing the Etymology of Italian words from the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin; in which after him the most distinguished were *Ferrari, Menagio,* and the Abate *Anton-Maria Salvini.* For this skill in the Greek he was esteemed by the first Literati of his age; and especially by the famous *Harry Stevens,* who considered him the first greek Scholar of his age, and dedicated to him the Book of *Parrasius de rebus per Epistolam quæsitis,* which was afterwards reprinted by *Gruter* in the first

volume of his *Thesaurus Criticus.* Stevens calls him "the greatest of Critics; and a man the most eminent for his skill in poetry."

Castelvetro was also preeminently skilled in the Italian language. To this he gave the greatest study; and the most continued attention, which it well deserved. The famous Cardinal *Sadoleto* residing in his Bishopric of Carpentras in France; and with him *Paolo Sadoleto,* and *Antonio Fiordibello,* also Modenese, who both became eminent Literati, and Bishops, there fell under the inspection of this famous Prelate, the glory of the Modenese, some Italian Letters of Castelvetro, of *Filippo Valentino,* and of others of their companions: and it appearing to him that they gave more study to the Italian language than became them, he caused *Fiordibello* to write a long Latin Argument in dispraise of this Language, and of its Authors; and in commendation of the Latin, and of its Authors; warning his studious fellow-citizens to despise the one, and attend to the other. *Paolo Sadoleto* wrote another Discourse in Italian, intended to prove this language was only fit for common things; and

that the Latin ought to be used in matters of importance; and such as were worthy of remembrance,

These two Arguments were directed to Castelvetro, to *Valentino*, to *Giovanni Falloppia*, to *Alessandro Melano*, and to *Frances Camorana*, ingenious men then of this City. Castelvetro and Valentino retired into the Country; and with strong reason and much erudition composed an ANSWER, proving that in our times the Italians could write much better in their living language than in Latin; an argument happily handled in the XVIIIth Century by *Antonio Vallisnieri*, a celebrated Physician and Philosopher of the University of Padua, published anonymously.

No reply was made to the ANSWER of Castelvetro, and Valentino.

In a more vigorous age Castelvetro wrote his *Comento sopra le Rime di Fraucesco Petrarca;* but to which he did not give his last hand; and from which he reserved the three First Sonnets, having a controversy on these with *Giulio Camillo Delminio*, who had commented on them

before him; which made him desire to labour them with more attention.

This Work, which consisted of his private readings in his juvenile studies, was published some years after his death; being printed at Basil, 1582; but with some defects, which the Author had not removed, not having prepared the Work for publication. In a MS copy, the Author has noted that this Comment was finished on 8th Oct. 1545.* This Edition of 1582 is rare and esteemed.

It was reprinted at Venice by Zatta, 1756, 4^to^.

* *Allessandro Vellutello,* a native of Lucca published *Petrarch's Rimes with a Commentary.* Venice, 1525, 4to.--1528, 4to.--1532, 8vo.--1538, 1552, 1554, 1560, 1568, 1584 4to *See Dessade,* 1. *Pref. XXXII.*

Bernardino Daniello, published Petrarch's *Rimes,* with a Comment, 1549, 4to. Venice.

Among the best of the early Lives of Petrarch, was that of *Beccadelli,* Archbishop of Ragusa, first printed in Tomasini's *Pretrarcha Redivivus* 1635, 4to. Of this learned Prelate, whose exquisite Portrait adorns the Tribune of the Royal Gallery at Florence, See *Monumenti di Varia Litteratura Tratti dui Manoscritti di Monsignor Lodovico Beccadelli Arcivescovo di Ragusa.* 3 vols. 4to. Bologna, 1797,--1804. He died 17th Oct. 1572, œt. 71. He was born at Bologna, 29th. Jan, 1501, of a noble and ancient, but decayed family.

Within four or five years of this time Castelvetro was impelled by his critical genius to write a Volume of Criticism on the *Prose del celebre Cardinal Pietro Bembo*, where he treated minutely on the Grammar of the Italian language; sometimes approving, sometimes blaming the examples which he drew from Bembo. He suffered a part of this work to see the light at Modena, in 1563; but without his name. Other fragments came out appended to the *Corrections of the Dialogue of Varchi* 1572. Other parts, preserved in the *Bibliotheca Estense* were furnished by Muratori, and added to the beautiful edition of the *Prose of Bembo, Naples*, 1714.* The greatest favourites of Castelvetro in the Italian language were Petrarch, and Boccace. He often read over the Novels; and said he always found something new in them.

He highly esteemed *Dante;* and had written

*Muratori says, the meaning of the Motto, KEKPICA at the bottom of the title of the answer to Annibal Caro, &c. is *ho giudicato:* and that the empty Vase is a device to express a person swelled with too high an opinion of himself, but without wisdom, or judgment.

a *Comment* on him, which was lost at Lyons in the shipwreck of his writings. The first Part, containing an Exposition of the INFERNO as far as Canto XXIX. This was found among the MSS of Cardinal d' Este; and was once recovered by Muratori; but lost again.

He persuaded the famous Printers, the *Giunti*, to print the vast Latin Comment of *Benevenuto da Incola upon the Comedia of Dante*, having found a good and ancient text in the hands of the Canons of Reggio in Lombardy, and thinking that this work, full of Philosophy, Theology, and History, ought not to perish in darkness.

In almost all the works of Literary *Elogia* of Italy, Castelvetro is highly praised. *

It has been already said, that his death happened at Chiavenna, after his return from Vienna. He was looking to the Spring to go to Basil,

* See (among others)

Giulio Cæsare Capaccio: Elogi.
Giovan-Matteo Toscario-Peplus Italiæ.
Lorenzo Crasso-Elogi.
Gaddi-Scrittori non Ecclesiastici.
Teissier Elogi de i Letterati!

whither he had been invited by some Italian friends, when his old complaint of a stoppage of urine returned upon him with greater violence: and in the space of four days he died 21st. Feb. 1571, æt. 66. He was buried there; and a marble Inscription is erected to his memory.*

His intellectual character; his learning; his morals; his person, have been already described. His example may incite to an imitation of his Learning; and of his moral virtues; but not of his literary irratibility: for Literature and Science should be used to make our lot more happy in this world; not more full of troubles. †

Alas! of all bitternesses what is so bitter, as the spirit of Literary Quarrels? To envy, to scorn, to censure, to misrepresent, to dissect, to delight in debasing, what is it but an emanation of the fire of the Infernal Regions? It breaks the heart of the kind, and the good! It never yet reformed or convinced Stupidity, or Folly! The

* See it in *Ghilini, Teatro Degli Uomini Letterati*, 1. 147.

† Drawn from the Life prefixed by Muratori to *Opere varie Critiche di Lodovico Castelvetro. Milan* 1727. 4*to.*

Mob look on with grinning delight: they exult to see Genius and Superior Acquirements hunted into the Gulf of Despair! Then how are these Weapons used as the instruments of Party Persecution! To exalt the base: to cry down the dreaded Rival: to destroy the influence of opposite opinions, by destroying the credit of the vehicle of them: to "damn with faint praise;" to render ridiculous by drawing attention in pretended kindness, to false points: to lay down the erroneous precept, as if in pure impartiality, at a distance from the part, on which it is designed to bear: to borrow all that is good, and dress it up as the Critic's own: to aggravate the bad; and then load with it in broadest light the shoulders of the Author!---is this a state of vigour and health: or of rottenness, disunion, and approaching dissolution? How happens it, that He, who cannot write a Book himself, no sooner assumes the pen and the character of a Critic, than he becomes an authority, and an Oracle, from which there is no appeal?

Ludovico Antonio Muratori, the honour of *Modena*, of Italy and of literature, was born

at Vignola in 1672. His education was committed to the Jesuits of Modena. He embraced the Ecclesiastical State; and then made theology and morals his particular study; afterwards Poetry, Moral Philosophy, and Antiquities had the most attraction for him. He had scarcely attained the age of 22, when count Carlo Borromeo committed to him the care of the *Ambrosian* Library. Rinaldo di Este Duke of Modena recalled him, and appointed him Librarian, and Superintendant of the Archives of the duchy. In this station Muratori passed the remainder of his Life. Here he established a multiplied correspondence with all the persons in Europe most remarkable for their knowledge, the celebrated Cardinal Noris, Ciampini, Magliabecchi, Mabillon, Montfaucon, Papelbrochio the Jesuit, Maffei, Gori, Cardinal Quirini, and many others too numerous to mention.

In 1717, he published the first Part of his *Antichita Estense.* He was now busy in preparing his two great works, his *Antiquities of Italy* of the middle ages; and his grand collection of *The Historians of Italy.* In his youth

he had nothing in his head but the Greek and Roman Antiquities. The magnificent impressions of so many examples of illustrious virtue, above all the polish and genius of their authors; their fabrics, statues, inscriptions, monies, &c. enraptured him. On the contrary the Story of the subsequent ages; their authors, rites, customs; troubles seemed to involve him in perplexities, and barbarities; and to place him among horrid mountains and miserable hovels, in the midst of a fierce people.

In a maturer age he repented of having been so dazzled, and resolved to regulate his taste, which could only admire Italy in triumph, and make no allowance for the oppressions of Foreign Rulers; and the wounds of raging internal Factions; and remembering that it was his Country, who drew their mingled blood from so many strange invaders, as well as from the Romans, he began to interest himself about the actions and adventures of these Iron Ages. At length he felt persuaded that the study of the Low Ages was for the Learned a sort of traffic more gainful, than that of a more hoary Antiquity, because

the latter was nearly exhausted, so many of his predecessors having undertaken to illustrate the revival of Letters in Italy; while the literature of the Middle Ages was untouched, or obscure, and opened a field for great fame to a Man of Letters. He turned his thoughts therefore to this sort of erudition.

His first design was to collect all the History of Italy from the year 500, to the year 1500: to form a Body of all the events of the Barbarous Ages as the principal foundation of the learning of these Times.

When he composed his Tract on *Good Taste*, he had expressed a wish that some other of the Learned would Undertake this Task; he little thought that it would fall to himself; more especially as he had entertained some hopes, that Apostolo Zeno would engage in it. But this laborious, intelligent, and able Author having passed into the Emperor's service; and Muratori despairing that any other would involve himself in so great a toil, resolved to set his shoulders to the work.

Immediately he began to collect the Histories

of Italy, not only such as were printed; but such as remained in MSS; ransacking various Libraries, especially the Ambrosienne, and the Royal Library of the House of *Este (Bibliotheca Estensis)* as well as those of many private persons. it would be tedious to detail the fatigues and difficulties he thus encountered; The Princes, and more especially the Republics of Italy, being full of jealousy, and fear lest any thing should be divulged, to their prejudice; and seeming to think that to permit the transcript and publication of their MSS, was to lose a treasure.

But he succeeded in recovering so many Chronicles and Stories not yet published, that they possibly outnumbered those already published; conferring an high benefit on the Public by this service, by preserving so many precious relics from the danger of destruction, such as had happened to so many others; and thus opening so vast a field for obtaining a knowledge of events, which filled up the interval between the time of the Romans, and the last ages. At the same time he had an opportunity of collating the Histories already published with MS

copies. To each of these he took the opportunity to prefix Prefaces and short Annotations.

He now wanted a place in Italy where he could print so large a mass of Italian Chronocles; nor was it less difficult to find one who would incur the enormous expence of putting them to press. But in a short time he was relieved from this distress. The Emperor Charles VI, not only took the Edition under his Royal Protection; bnt granted a place for printing it in the Ducal Palace at Milan; and the Nobles of this City, animated by their good genius, overlooked the progress of the Printing, and caused a Work so magnificent, beautiful, and correct as rendered it above the envy of the best of other Nations.

The first volume of this grand Collection was published in 1723 under the title of *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores;* and others to the number of 27 were published between that year and 1738. To these he added another in 1751 containing various Chronicles and inedited Works with a part of the Indexes. Another (I believe posthumous) was afterwards published, with a general

Index of the whole Work. This grand publication had a successful sale, as well within, as beyond Italy; and encouraged the celebrated Benedictine Fathers of St. Maure to undertake their grand Collection of the *Scriptores Rerum Francicarum.*

The other mode taken by Muratori to illustrate the erudition of the Middle Ages, was to treat more minutely of Italy in the times of Barbarism and Ignorance. This sort of erudition could not like that of the Greek and Latin, be collected from the Authors, who lived in those times. Both Greece and the Roman Republic had a great number of Philosophers, Historians, Orators, Epic, Tragic, and Satirical Poets &c. among which skilful research would find the rites and customs of those ages celebrated for science and the Arts: while Italy, fallen from its splendour, subjected to barbarous Nations, and having lost the taste for Letters, had but a few books and compositions belonging to these times: and these could supply scarcely any notices to feed the just curiosity of the Learned.

The hope of supplying in any degree the

want of these lights rested in the ancient Archives, where might be found Diplomas, Wills, Donations, and other similar Acts concerning the rights and customs of those Ages; and containing at the same time great lights for History, and Chronology; and for knowing the eminent persons of those times both sacred and profane. For this end having occasion to visit the most noted Cathedrals and Monasteries of the various Provinces of Italy to search for notices to form the Genealogy of the house of Este, he succeeded in gathering another Harvest by collecting a great number of inedited Documents, Diplomas of Emperors, Kings, Princes, Foundations of Monasteries, Donations, Wills, Bulls of Popes and Bishops, and other like inedited Memorials of the Dark Ages, which he found well worthy of seeing the light on this account, leaving behind innumerable other parchments of no value which he had inspected; rejecting them as of no aid to literature. It required talents and sagacity possessed by few to distinguish the legitimate ancient monuments from the fabricated and the false; and to understand the

strange characters in which they were often written according to the diversity of Provinces; and to separate those of one age from those of another. In this respect the otherwise commendable *Italia Sacra* of Ughelli was very defective, giving many false characters; and many most unhappily copied, either through the fault of the Compiler, or of those, who supplied them. Muratori was well-skilled in critical diplomacy; and in the knowledge of Ancient characters, having served a long Noviciate among the Ambrosian MSS; and in the Archives of the house of Este, and of the Cathedral of Modena. Hence he was enabled to enrich Italy with a most ample Collection of ancient Documents; and these served him to form his great work, his *Antiquitates Italicæ Medii Avi,* consisting of 75 Dissertations relative to the rites, customs, laws, dignities, Judges, Military, Commerce, Arts, Contracts, and other similar arguments which form an entire picture of Italy from the decline of the Roman Empire. He had intended to give these Dissertations in the Italian language with a design that they should succeed to the *First Part*

of the *History of the House of Este;* but being obliged by a long illness, which occurred in 1720, he was about to give up his Task, doubting his strength to prosecute so vast a labour. But having afterwards recovered his former vigour; and having experienced the happy reception of his celebrated Collection of *Italian Writers;* and these having furnished new matter to increase the number of his Dissertations, he took courage to resume the Compilation; and to make it intelligible to those born out of Italy, put it into Latin. None of his Works cost Muratori more fatigue than this, as well from the great diversity and obscurity of the subjects treated in it, as from having composed it in two languages. But no other gave greater proof of his vast and profound erudition; of his great judgment in matters of Antiquity Sacred and Profane of the Middle Ages; And no other was more applauded both by Italian, and Foreign Literati. Besides the prodigious quantity of Documents produced to prove his opinions, he inserted many Chronicles and Small Pieces not before published, not having come to his hands in time to place them

in their proper places in his great Body of *Scriptores Italiæ*, so that these Dissertations were to be considered as an *Appendix* to this great Collection. The Printing of his 27 large Volumes not having been finished till 1738, The Edition of these Six Volumes in Folio did not appear till 1741; when they came out through the same care and expence of the Noble Society of the Palace of Milan.

The great Collection of Ancient Inscriptions made by the celebrated *Gruter*, was always in the highest esteem being admitted by all the Intelligent to contain a noble treasure of Greek and Latin erudition. It occurred to Muratori during his sojourn at Milan to undertake a work, which should embrace things not preserved by *Gruter*, nor *Rainesius*, nor *Spon*, who had first laboured in this field of Learning. But soon afterwards there appeared the excellent Work and Collection of *Rafaelle Fabretti:** he therefore desisted from this task, because Fabretti had published no small part of the same marbles as he had

* *Inscrptionum Antiquarum explicatio, Roma*, 1669 *Fol* He died at Rome, 1700, æt. 81.

collected. He afterwards resumed this design, when he had finished his Dissertations: and resolved to add another copious Collection of Inscriptions, in great part inedited, drawn from MSS, and communicated by his friends; and in part collected from Books and Histories already published; but which were not in the works already mentioned. *Four* large Volumes in Folio compose this Work; of which the *First* saw the light in 1739; and others in the following years from the Press of Milan, with this title: *Novus Thesaurus Veterum Inscriptionum.* After the Preface prefixed by Muratori to the First Volume, succeed some Dissertations of the learned Baron *Joseph de Bimard, Baron de la Bastia,* * by whose death a few years before that of Muratori, a powerful associate of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions at Paris was lost. To render this great Treasure of Inscriptions more useful the

* De Bimard was of the Ancient Noblesse of Dauphinè, born at Carpentras 6 June. 1703, and died 5 or 6 Aug. 1742. In 1740 he communicated to the Academy of Inscriptions at Paris, a *Memoir of the Life of Petrarch.* See *De-Sade's* character of this *Life, Memoires*-Pref. 1. p. LVIII.

Compiler added Notes, and necessary Indexes, to be found in the last Volume.

These three grand Works would probably have occupied the whole Life of any other Literateur, so as to preclude his application to any other studies: but our Author had no need of so much time. Besides these, he brought forth many other productions of his ingenuity. The limits of the Letter which contains this Memoir, will not allow me to particularize all these minor labours of Muratori.

At the desire of *Filippo Argelati*, the learned compiler of the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium*, he compiled a Life of *Lodovico Castelvetro*, to be prefixed to an Edition of his *Inedited Pieces*, 1727. This Life was reprinted in the beautiful Edition delle *Rime del Petrarca col Comento di Castelvetro*, Printed at Venice, 1756.

At the desire of Argelati also he wrote a *Life* in Latin of the Learned Modenese, *Carlo Sigonio* to be prefixed to a magnificent Edition of all his Works, which issued from the press of Milan in 1732.

In 1735, he published an edition of the *Rimes* and other *Works* of his Friend the Marchese Gian-Giuseppe Orsi, a Noble and Literary Bolonese, who died 1733.

Bartolomeo Soliano, a Bookseller at Modena being desirous to give a sumptuous re-impression of the Heroi Comic Poem, the *Secchia Rapita* by Alessandro Tassoni, Muratori, at his desire, wrote a *Life* of his renowned fellow-Citizen, to be placed before that Edition. Our author having afterwards collected more Notices, to enrich the Life, rewrote it, and Soliani reprinted it twice in 1744; once in 4to. and once in a less form.

In 1743 appeared the Works of the celebrated Modenese Physician, *Francesco Forti:* and prefixed to them, a *Life* in Latin by Muratori. The Inscription on his Tomb in the Church of St. Agostino was by the same Author.

Muratori also wrote a short Latin Compendium of the *Life* of his Patron *Rinaldo I. Duke of Modena;* which was afterwards augmented by *Lami,* and reprinted in his *Memorabilia Italorum,* 1742, 8vo.

In 1735, appeared a long Letter from the pen

of Muratori, addressed to Apostolo Zeno, in which he discusses the motives by which Duke Alfonso II. was actuated, to confine Tasso in the Hospital of St. Anna of Ferrara. This Epistle was prefixed to many inedited Letters of this celebrated Poet, collected by Muratori, and to be found in vol. 10, of the Works of Tasso, printed at Venice in 1739.

In 1740 Muratori published *Part II.* delle *Antichita Estensi.* This volume, which issued from the Press of Modena, contains the actions of the Princes of Este from 1215 to 1739.

The great knowledge, which Muratori had of the Ancient facts of the Italian History induced many Literati to prompt him to compile the *Civil Annals of Italy.* He applied himself to this work in 1740; and conducted it down to the year 1500. It was published in *nine* volumes in 4to. 1744 from the press of Venice; but with the date of Milan; and from thence was translated into German, and printed at Leipsic. Being afterwards requested to continue the annals to his own times he complied, and brought them down to 1749 in three volumes. Another Edition ap-

peared at Rome in XII. volumes, divided into XXIV. Parts, 8vo. with a Critical Preface by P. Guiseppe Catalani: and another at Naples in XII. vols. 4to. and at Venice, with the date of Milan, in XVII. vols. 8vo. comprising a volume of Indexes.

The works already mentioned have been principally Historical, or Biographical. As early as 1706 he published from the Modena Press in 2 volumes 4to. his Tract *Della Perfetta Poesia Italiana*, a work which cost much study and meditation; and which was generally well received; though it was not without opposers. He had designed to entitle it *Riforma della Poesia Italiana:* but some of his friends thought that the word *Reform* would offend some of the Poets of his Time. It was reprinted at Venice with the Notes and observations of Abate Anton Maria Salvini, 1724.

In 1711 Muratori gave an edition delle *Rime di Francesco Petrarca, colle Considerazioni di Alessandroni Tassoni, e di Girolamo Muzio,* to which he added his own, with a Compendium of the *Life* of this great Poet: 4to. reprinted at

Venice, 1727; 4*to.* and again at *Venice*, 1741.

The most powerful opposition which Muratori incurred to the criticisms of his *Perfect Italian Poetry* was made to his censure of the three celebrated CANZONI of *Petrarch*. These are entitled *Canzoni sopra gli occhi di Madonna Laura dette le tre Sorelle.* The first begins

"*Perchè la Vita è breve;*"

And consist of 7 Stanzas of 15 lines each.

The Second begins

"*Gentil mia Donna, io veggio.*"

And consists of 5 Stanzas.

The Third begins,

"*Perchè per mio destino*"

And consists of 6 Stanzas.

The Answer is entitled *Difesa delle Tre Canzoni degli Occhi e di alcuni Sonetti, e vari Passi delle Rime di Frncesco Petrarca; dalle Opposizione del Signor Lodovico Antonio Muratori Composta da Gio: Bartolommeo Casaregi, Gio: Tommaso Canevari, e Antonio Tommasi chierico Regolare della Madre di Dio Pastori Arcadi. In Lucca* 1709, *per Pellegniro Frediani*" 8vo. pp. 311.

Muratori's *Life of Petrarch* is now generally agreed to be one of the least exact and least happy of all his publications. Abbè *De Sade* criticises it very severely, (See *Memoires, Preface I. p. II. LVI.)* The only excuse he admits for its errors, is, that it was done for recreation at his villa in the Country, removed from Public Libraries. *

Whoever knew Muratori in his youth would not have believed that he could have been long-lived, his form was so slender and his looks so unfavourable. And especially when they saw him in his tender age apply so indefatigably to study, which, as experience proves, when taken without moderation, is more prejudicial to the health, than any other great fatigue of the body. To the marvel of all he enjoyed a long life of health; and reached his 78th year. He suffered only one great attack of sickness; which was in 1720. In the Autumn of 1746, and 1747, he

* Yet Madam de Genlis in her late Romance of *Petrarque et Laure* cites it, (in spite of De Sade's criticisms lying before her' or which she *pretends* to be lying before her,) as one of the best and most exact Lives of this Superlative Poet.

was attacked by a Tertian Fever. In the Autumn of 1748, and Winter of 1749, he suffered under a great weakness of the Knees; with pain and swelling. He still enjoyed a great part of his intellect; though the health of his body was fallen into a rapid decay. The Physicians prescribed to him the Broth of Vipers. The month of May, and great part of June was singularly cold in that year: which made it more necessary to be cautious in the use of this remedy: but he, who had distributed his hours for study, abhorring idleness beyond any thing, could not be persuaded to go to bed to promote the perspiration, after having taken the broth; nor to remain in the House, which the unusual fall of rain this year rendered necessary. But every day, as long as he could mount the Stairs, he would go at his accustomed hour to the Ducal Library. His strength continued to diminish with the loss of his appetite, and the humour in his knees rose to his arms and hands; with great pain, especially in the right, so that for some months he was unable to use the pen; which prevented his putting an end to his Translation into Italian of his

Dissertations on the Antiquities of Italy in the Middle Ages. In the month of August he fell of nights, into profuse perspirations; and no remedies availed; but in September the air revived him; he partly recovered his appetite; and the strength of his hand sufficiently to write. But this amendment was of short duration; scarce a month had passed, when new symptoms of disease, the forerunners of his fate appeared. The first days of November were ushered in by clouds, and South-East-Winds. He began to lose his taste in food; his debility grew worse; a vertigo attacked him; and mists before his eyes, so that he could no longer leave the house. These new disorders were the warnings to prepare for his great passage to Eternity.

He was desirous now to give an account of his Soul to his God; and to make his Confession on the 25th of this month. The sentiments of Christian piety he displayed drew tears from the eyes of his Confessor, Dr. Antonio Gardani. He admired the sublime entrepidity, with which he beheld the death, that he saw was not far distant. In this state he continued till the 27th

when he became totally blind; and was led to his bed by the hand: but having reposed a little while, he recovered his sight, and not knowing what had happened, placed himself at the Table to finish his Italian Compendium of his *Dissertations*, which wanted only the end of the LXIXth. and the subsequent ones, to finish it.

Blisters were now applied to his arm, to draw the humour from his head. They did not produce the expected result. He experienced contractions in his arm, and right hand, which continued some days; and were followed by a fever of great violence. It was now thought necessary to administer the Mass, which he received with extraordinary devotion after dinner on 31st. December. On the following day, the first of the year 1750, extreme Unction was administered: and his disorders increasing from day to day, accompanied with extreme pain in his whole body; and a total loss of strength and pulse, not without some wanderings of his senses as the fever increased, his Confessor was again called in. But the term of his life was not yet arrived. He began to revive; and after three days, to every

one's astonishment the fever left him, He recovered his strength so far as to write two Letters of the 15th. and 20th Jan. 1750.

His friends began to flatter themselves, that he might recover from these infirmities; and even live to dictate other Works. But on the 23rd. of this month, at midnight, he was attacked by a sudden pain of the heart, which he thought to be nothing but flatulency. When it ceased he again fell into a tranquil sleep: but this was only a truce: the mine was prepared: the spasm returned; and he breathed no more. He was aged 77 years, 3 months, and 2 days; having been born on Oct. 21 1672. His stature was of the common size; but square, and inclining to fat. He had a long face; with a good colour; a large nose: a high and spacious forehead; and blue eyes. His countenance had an air of sweetness, not unmixed with gravity, which conciliated the affection and veneration of whoever beheld him. In his face might be read the candour of his soul; in his conversation and his manner a religious sincerity; and an incomparable modesty. He was affable, and courteous to all; and

lively in conversation; delighting to see others and especially the young, innocently merry. To a singular simplicity of manners he joined admirable sense; and a rare prudence, of which he gave multiplied proofs, principally in finding means to compose the dissensions of others; in which he frequently employed himself; often by the order of his Sovereign; and was always successful.

No place was found in his mind for pride, ostentation, envy, hatred; nor scorn of others; but he was full of humility, sweetness, benevolence, and esteem towards all. In short, he had the virtues, but not the defects, commonly observed in Men of Letters. Of these defects he had at one time had the design to treat; and had even put his hand to the work: but he did not prosecute the task, fearing that it might seem too much like a Satire.

By the death of Muratori, the City of Modena lost its grand Ornament; and all Italy, the man most distinguished for his Literature. Surely none among the Literati of his day equalled him, if we compare the number of his Books; all

useful to Letters; to the State; or to the Church. His knowledge was universal; and with the exception of Mathematics, to which he had not applied, he was profoundly skilled in all other Sciences; on whatever subject he exercised his pen, he treated it with nicety of judgment, with erudition, with fine taste; and in a good stile, as well in Italian, as in Latin; and as if he spoke in his own tongue, which it is not easy to imitate. To all this he added a great love of truth, which he spared no pains to discover, and had the courage always to communicate. As he had no end in writing, but to be useful to others, so he studied in the choice of his Arguments always to select those, which would best answer this purpose.

Besides the Latin language, he was well versed in the Greek; and he had also a sufficient tincture of the Hebrew idiom, to draw from the Lexicons the force of each word according to the occasion. He possessed perfectly the French and Spanish languages; and after his 50th year began to learn English; but he did not pursue it, when he came to observe that there were Translations of the best Books of that Learned Nation.

In his youth he loved Poetry, and always esteemed all Poets but the mediocre. He could make good verses, as well in Latin, as in Italian, and some were printed in the Collections of Gobbi, Crescimbeni; and in that of Lucca; as well as in the Life of Maggi, written by him. In his old age, at the instance of some Neapolitan Nobles, who had a great veneration for his name, he composed four Sonnets on the immaculate Conception of the Holy Virgin, in 1743, 1744, 1745, 1746. His discernment was excellent in distinguishing the beautiful from the deformed; and especially in poetry; of which he gave striking proofs in his *Perfetta Poesia;* and in his observations on the *Rimes of Petrarch.* These studies procured him the friendship of the most celebrated Poets of his time; viz. of Carlo Maria Maggi; of Francesco de Lemene; of Anton-Maria Salvini; of P, Tommaso Ceva of the Society of Jesus; of Alessandro Guidi; of Eustachio Manfredi; of Pier Jacopo Martelli; of Vincenzo da Filicaia; and of Apostolo Zeno; &c.

In Philosophy he shewed his proficiency by his little Tracts *On the Force of the Human*

Understanding; and *On the Force of the Human Fancy*; and also by his *Moral Philosophy*. In Civil Law he proved his skill by his *Difetti della Giurisprudenza*. In Medicine he published his *Governo della Peste*, which is much praised.

In Theology he published several Tracts, which are evidence of his proficiency.

To comprehend how eminent he was in History, in Diplomacy, in Lapidary Antiquities, and how great was his erudition Sacred and Profane, we must cast our eyes upon his *Anecdotes Greek and Latin*; upon the Prefaces and Notes inserted in his celebrated Collection *Rerum Italicarum*; and in his *Dissertations on the Italian Antiquities of the Middle Ages*; and his *Antiquities of the House of Este*; his *Annals of Italy*; and his *Thesaurus of Ancient Inscriptions*. No one has certainly done more to illustrate the affairs of Italy; and the erudition of the Middle Ages; and no one has laboured more to introduce good taste into the Arts and Sciences; having not only given the precepts in his Book *on Good Taste*; but furnished examples in all his own compositions.

He was most skilful in the Art of Criticism; and all his Tracts afford light to those who have a genius for Letters, by dispersing prejudices, and teaching a method in their studies.

Muratori was held in high esteem by the greatest personages of his age; by the Popes, the Emperor, the King of England, the King of Sardinia; the two Dukes of Modena, whom he served as Librarian &c. And through all Italy, France, Germany, Holland, and England, his name enjoyed a singular reputation.

How he could economize his time so as to perform such gigantic literary labours, has been minutely related by his relation and Biographer Gian-Francesco-Soli Muratori, who wrote his *Life published at Naples* 1758, 4to. from whence this Account is extracted. See also *Lami-Memorabilia Italorum eruditione præstantium, Florence*, 1742, 8*vo. I.* 208.

If this Life is deemed to fill too large a space in the present Letters, let it be recollected that it is the Memoir of one, who, at least in point of the value and extent of his materials is the greatest name among the Historical Antiquaries, if

not among the Historical Writers of Europe.

His publications by themselves form an inexhaustible Library: and to have passed Modena without a notice, or with only a brief notice of Him, would have been a sort of neglect which my predominant Love of Literary history would have made me ashamed of.

I enter into no rivalry with GUIDES, and ITINERARIES. I leave Lists and Descriptions of Buildings and Pictures; and Narratives of Road Adventures to others. I go, in search of Reminiscences of the Past; to behold the spots that have been consecrated by the departed Great.

> To call up each illustrious Hero's shade:
> In sombre groves, and aweful aisles to tread,
> By Godlike Poets venerable made!

On the death of Muratori the Duke of Modena offered the situation of LIBRARIAN to Professor Corsini of Pisa: but he declined it; and this office was conferred on FRANCESCANTONIO ZACCARIA, a celebrated Jesuit. Of this author we have, among other works, *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis a Francisco Antonio Zacharia, Societatis*

Jesu Presbytero. Augustæ Taurinorum 1752 4to.

2. *Francisci Antonii Zachariæ Societatis Jesu Excursus Literarii per Italiam ab anno* 1742 *ad annum* 1752 *Venetiis*, 1754. 4*to.*

He also appears to have been the anonymous Editor of *Storia Literaria d' Italia*, commencing from Sept. 1748, vol 1. Venice, 1750. Vol. 5. *Modena* 175- vol. 14. *Modena*, 1759, 8vo. Followed by *Annali Letterari d' Italia, vol.* 1. *Modena* 1762. *vol.* 2. *same year and place*, 8*vo.* He was a Venetion: and reported at one time to have been removed from his Office, and exiled by the Duke of Modena; which he denies. See *Storia Letteraria d' Italia* 1755. *vol. XIV. p.* 403. See also *Lami; Novelle Literarie* 1751. *Tom. XII. p.* 676.

Giovanni Granelli, a learned Jesuit, died Librarian here 3 March, 1770, aged 67, and was succeeded by the celebrated Tiraboschi. Grunelli was the author of many works in Divinity History, Criticism, and Poetry.

Abate Girolamo Tiraboschi was born at Bergamo 18 Dec. 1731. At the termination of his education, he found himself so impressed with

the love of a retired life, and of profound study, that he determined to embrace the institution of the Jesuits, from whom he had received his first instructions; and for this purpose went to Genoa, where he was admitted 25th Oct. 1746. Having fulfilled the hopes of his Noviciate, and gone through the studies of philosophy, and rhetoric with great praise for wisdom and talent, he was destined to the care of the Grammatical department in the University of Brera at Milan, 1755; when totally occupied by the desire of being of use to his pupils he published the *Vocabolario Italiano e Latino* of P. Mandosio his associate, re-formed, and judiciously corrected with a perfect knowledge of both the languages. Being at this time assigned as an assistant to an able Librarian of this College, with his guidance, and with the precious stores of this famous Library, he began to collect matter for the works, which he meditated. Inclined as he was by genius to polite literature, and known as he was to his Superiors for his good taste, and his rare ability in such studies, he was destined to the Professorship of Eloquence in this University. His Orations

recited publicly at Milan, and especially his *Vetera Humiliatorum Monumenta*, (Mediolani, 1766, 3 vols 4to.) recommended him to the esteem of all the Learned; and especially to the enlightened Ministers of this Imperial Government, and above all, to Count *Firmian*, a great Mecenas, and promoter of every useful and scientific establishment. His fame therefore resting on the real merit of a sage critic, an indefatigable researcher, and a Literateur of deep erudition, upon the vacancy of the office of Librarian to the Duke of Modena, by the death of P. Granelli, 3d May 1770, this place was, through the medium of Count Firmian, offered to Tiraboschi.

He was at first unwilling to undertake this Duty, through a diffidence of his sufficiency. But at length by the persuasion of his friends, he accepted it: and passing to Modena in June 1770, on 21st of that month he took possession of this most ample and well chosen Library.

He now applied himself to attain a knowledge of the most important riches and rarities of this Library; and in a short time acquired a complete intelligence of them.

He had cherished a desire in his younger years to confer new honours on Italy, and to defend it at the same time against the envy of many Foreigners, who pretended to have a right to a great part of its Authors, or had endeavoured to obscure their merit, or had impudently arrogated their inventions to themselves, by undertaking to write the GENERAL HISTORY OF ITALIAN LITERATURE bringing it down from the earliest times to the end of the XVIIth. Century.

There existed indeed many Books relative to this subject: but none offered an exact account of the origin, progress, decay, revival; in short, of all the vicissitudes which Letters and the Arts had encountered in these countries.

" Ch' Appennia parte, e' l mar circonda e l' Alpe."

The only sketch, which existed of the General History of Italian literature was *Idea della Storia dell' Italia Letterata* of GIACINTO GIMMA, a celebrated Literateur, a native of Bari, *printed at Naples*, 1723, 2 *vols. 4to.* To such a work was wanting the rare union of immense reading with a critical taste, and to infinite abundance

the addition of a sage discernment. The glory of compiling a Work so vast, so laborious, so learned, was reserved for Tiraboschi. *

As to particular portions of Italian Literature, *Crescimbeni* had given *Storia della Poesia Italiana Venice*, 1731, 7 *vols. 4to.* †

From 1739, to 1752 appeared at Bologna, or Milan in 7 vols. thick Quarto, *Della Storia e della Ragione d' Ogni, Poesia di* FRANCESCO SAVERIO QUADRIO *della Compagnia di Gesu.*" ‡

* Gimma's Work is dated from Bari, which is on the confines of the Gulph of Venice, 17 of July 1723.---It consists of two small 4to. volumes: vol. 1. pp. 408. vol. 2. pp. 504. (together 912.)

† He published at Rome 1698, in one small vol. 4to. *L' Istoria della Volgar Poesia:* (the foundation, I presume, of the larger work.)

Mr Mathias has reprinted at London *Commentari intorno all' Istoria della Poesia Italiana* scritta *da Gio: Mario Crescimbeni.*, 3 vols.

Crescimbeni was born, 1663, and died 1728, æt. 64.

‡ Quadrio was born in the Valtcline 1695, and died 21 Nov. 1756, aged 61, leaving a great reputation for his multifarious learning. He first published *Della Poesia Italiana,* under the name of *Giuseppe Andrucci,* Venice, 1734, 4to.

Crescimbeni having written at a time when Criticism had

To this magnificent undertaking Tiraboschi put his hand in 1770. He succeeded in completing this vast labour in eleven years, having in that time brought it to an happy end in 12 large quarto volumes. * This he accomplished by the prompt penetration of his talents, by his rare nicety in criticism, by the marvellous facility of his flowing pen, by his grand stores of knowledge of matter and authors, and finally by the riches with which this superb and useful Library supplied him.

This work, which by the elegance and luminousness of a pure and natural stile, never tedious and monotonous (always free from the contagion of a Foreign idiom and foreign words;) by the extent of its erudition; by its profound and dili-

made but little progress, Quadrio much improved upon him: and tho' Tiraboschi corrected many errors, into which he also had fallen, and confuted many opinions, by means of a still more enlightened criticism, and far more copious knowledge, yet Quadrio's work proves great erudition united to indefatigable industry.

* An Edition was published at Florence by Molini in 1813 in 9 thickly printed 8vo. volumes divided into 20 Parts. The 9th vol. is entirely filled by a most ample Index.

gent researches, by its sensible and modest judgments in every sort of literature; by its philosophical spirit, moderated always by the clearest reason; and by the pure religion which it breathes, immediately obtained the admiration and praises of all the Learned of Europe, procured to the author with great justice the appellation of *The Father of Italian Literature.*

Yet Pignotti in his *Storia Toscana (IV.* 187.) speaks of him, as "Tiraboschi, uomo dottissimo, ma dotato più d' erudizione che di fino gusto."

Pignotti was a Poet, perhaps a little too much inclined to censoriousness, who demanded a finer taste, than is possible in combination with such toilsome and never-ending researches. After all, the great faculty exercised in this department is memory: but to bring the taste, however naturally exquisite, to its highest sensibility, requires incessant practice and skill in the nicest distinctions, in patient investigation, in original thinking, in long and repeated excursions amid the airy and ever-changing Castles of the Air, which leave little time for the labour of compilation, for the wearisome collections of the memory;

for nice examinations of references and dates; for a digest of conflicting authorities. The late *Thomas Warton* was perhaps almost the only Author, who united these contradictions: and let Censurers say what they will, he has wonderfully united them in his *History of English Poetry*; a work, of which the merits are not yet sufficiently appreciated!

But if the praise given to Tiraboschi, be taken *relatively*, it is true! *Compared* with his *Predecessors*, he has exhibited an elegant taste; and a philosophical, and just spirit of Criticism.

Tiraboschi composed and published numerous other Works; most of them of permanent value, which it is surprizing how he could find time for; as he was beset by the visits of his friends; and had a long and reputed correspondence with a large portion of the most celebrated Literati of his day. Method and regularity were the means, by which he was carried successfully through these extraordinary labours.

All these merits prompted Hercules III, the reigning Duke of Modena to confer on Tiraboschi the title of *Cavaliere*; and of his *Counsellor*,

at the same time he had a diploma of Modenese nobility, with its rank, and privileges. The most distinguished Academies of Italy enrolled him amongst its Members; and the most celebrated Literati of Europe loaded him with Eulogies.

The goodness of his heart, and his practical virtues did not yield to his scientific and literary merits. He was sociable, docile, modest, tranquil, beneficent, grateful, humane, religious. The love of Truth, the honour of the Church, of Rome, of Italy, always regulated his pen, and his studies. He only ceased to write, in ceasing to live. While he was intent on printing the 4th volume of the *Memorie Storiche Modenese,* * to be followed by the 5th just commenced,

* *Memorie Storiche Modenesi col Codice Diplomato illustrato con Note.* Modena 1793, 3 vols 4to. A 4th vol. (posthumous) was published 1794, It contains the Series of the Bishops of Modena, and Reggio; and ample Genealogical Notices of the Family of *Pichi* of *Mirandola.* A 5th. vol. was expected.

Tiraboschi also published earlier, *Biblioteca Modenese, o Notizie della Vita e delle opere degli Scrittori natii degli State del serenissimo Duca di Modena.* Modena 1781 1786. 6 vols

he fell ill of a most violent attack of the piles, attended by other mortal disorders. Advised of his great danger, he made the proper dispositions of his worldly affairs; and with a display of sound devotion, placidly breathed his last, five days after the attack, on 3d of June 1794, aged 62 years, 5 months, and 6 days.

Among other things, Tiraboschi edited the following Work of BARBIERI, already mentioned in the Memoir of Castelvetro. *Dell' origine della Poesia rimata, Opera di Gimbatista Barbieri Modenese, publicata per la prima volta e con annotazioni illustrata, Modena*, 1790. †

Among the most learned men of Modena, I

4to. The 6th vol. contains Additions and Corrections; and also *Notizie de' Pittori, scultori incisori e Architetti natii de' medisimi Stati, con una Appendice de' professori di musica.*

This voluminous work, written with his accustomed elegance, and full of laborious research, shews that in every kind of serious and pleasing literature, as well as in the Arts, Modena has nothing to fear by a comparison with the greater part of the Provinces of Italy.

† Tiraboschi has several articles in *Nuovo Giornale dei Letterati d' Italia*, commenced in Modena, 1773, and carried on, till 1790.

ought not to have omitted Carlo Sigonio, born at Modena, of an honourable family in 1520. He was destined by his Father to the study of Medicine: but his genius led him to literature. He was a Professor at Padua; and obtained a pension from the Republic of Venice. He died in his own Country 28th Aug. 1584, at the age of 64. He had a difficulty in speaking; but he wrote well; and his Latinity was very pure. His spirit was full of moderation. He refused the service of Stephen, King of Poland, He would not marry; and when asked the reason, answered: *Minerva e Venere non hanno mai potuto vivere insieme.* He has left many great Works, collected at Milan 1732, 1733, in 6 vols Fol. with a Life of the Author, written by Muratori. The principal of these, are

1. *De Republica Hebræorum.*
2. *De Republica Atheniensium Libri IV.*
3. *Historia de Occidentis Imperio.*
4. *De Regno Italiæ Libri XX* de anno 679, ad annum 1300.
5. *Storia Ecclesiastica,* printed at Milan, 1734 2 vols. 4to.

LETTER XIX.

Dukes of Modena, of the House of Est.

Naples, 22d July 1820.

MODENA, with Reggio and Ferrara, was long possessed by the Marquises of Tuscany, till the death of Mathilda, the grand Countess, when they were disputed by the Popes and the Emperors; and thence took occasion to emancipate themselves, like the greater part of the Cities of Italy, by means of the troubles, which these two Powers excited against each other.

BORSO, natural son of Lionel d' Est, Prince of *Ferrara*, (who died 1450) was created by the Emperor Duke of MODENA and REGGIO 18th May 1452.

The origin and history of the House of EST

has been laboriously written by Pigna, Muratori, Leibnity, Gibbon, and others. They are descended from Boniface I. Marquis of Tuscany, 828. Genealogists are not exactly agreed as to the particular generation from which they branched off. Leibnity and Gibbon think that *Boniface*, younger son of Adalbert 1. Marquis of Tuscany, (who was son of Boniface I.) was their ancestor; (and not *Gui*, his nephew, as commonly supposed.) Gui appears to have been father of Albert III. Marquis of Tuscany. Boniface II. Marquis of Tuscany, (of the elder line) married Beatrix, daughter of Frederic, Duke of High Lorraine, and died 7th May 1052. His son Frederic died young; and left the inheritance to his sister. This was the Countess celebrated in History, called MATILDA, THE GRAND.

Pignotti in his *Storia di Toscana* † makes

* Historia de Principi di Este di Gio. Balt. Pigna, a Donno Alfonso Secondo, Duci di Ferrara. In Ferrara 1750: Fol. (a rare Book.)

† Muratori Delle Antichità Estense. Modena, 1717, 2 vols Fol. Pisa, 1815, 10 vols. 12mo.

two Bonifaces in succession before Adalbert I. and thus speaks of this House.

"Lasciando nell' oblio quei, dei quali si cognosce poco più che il nome, la di cui serie, sempre incerta, esertita le inutile richerche de' futicosi eruditi, daremo noi un splendido principio a questa specie di governo coi nomi di Bonifacio, ed Adalberto, che formano le stipite, onde derivano due delle più illustri famiglie d' Europa, la Casa d' Este, e quella di Brunswiek. Il favore accordata dalla prima agli uomini di lettere ha ricevuto la più fortunata ricompensa nell' immortalità, che le hanno data due dei cinque, o sei capi d' opera che l' ingegno umano abbia in Europa saputo finora produrre, *l' Orlando Furioso, e la Gerusalemme Liberata.* La Seconda famiglia, dopo varie splendide vicende è stabilita sul trono d' una delle nazioni più potente. Sogliono per lo più i genealogici alberi, che la vanita ostenta agli occhi del publico, cominciare da un uomo illustre, al disopra de quale manca la chiarezza della sorgente: ciò non è vero di Bonifazio: discendeva da una famiglia padrona degli ampi domini della Baviera e della Sassonia, i di cui limiti nell antica geografia si estendevano assai più de Moderni." &c. (vol II. p. 67.

Boniface, younger son of Adalbert I. was living in 884.

His son Obert I. Marquis of Italy, and Count of the Sacred Palace, 931--971. was father of

Obert II. Marquis of Italy who lived 994, 1014, and left

Albert-Azzo I. Marquis of Italy, his son and heir, who was father of

Albert Azzo II. Marquis of Italy, Count of Lunigiana, and Prince, or *Seigneur* of Est and of Rovigo. He died 1097, By his *two* wives he was ancestor of the *German* Branch of Brunswick; and the *Italian* Branch of Ferrara and Modena.

His *first* wife was Cunegonde a Princess of the House of *Guelfe:* whence comes the *German* Branch.

His *second* wife was Gersende daughter of Herbert, *Eveille-Chien*, Comte du Maine, by whom he had

Foulke I. Marquis of Italy, Prince of Est, Rovigo, &c, who died in 1136.

His son, Obizzo I. Marquis of Est died in 1194, leaving his son and heir

Azzo VI; Marquis of Est and Ancona, Prince of Ferrara. He acquired great authority, and also obtained the Seigniory of Padua. In 1205, he drove Salinguerra de Torrelli from

Ferrara. In 1209 he accompanied Otto, King of the Romans, to receive the Imperial Crown at Rome. But was mortified to see this Prince shew more favour to his rival Salinguerra. Before this epoch Pope Innocent III. had conferred on him the Marquisate of Ancona: the Emperor, to strengthen these rights, now conferred on him the same dignity, in defiance of the oath he had given on receiving the Imperial Crown, to restore to the Holy See the lands of the Countess Matilda, of which this formed a part. In 1210, the Pope having declared Otto under forfeit of his Empire, Azzolin abandoned his party to take that of his competitor Frederic II. whom Innocent patronized. But he died in Nov. 1212, leaving by his *first* Wife Leonore, daughter of Thomas, Comte de Savoy,

Aldrovandin I. his son and heir, who succeeded him in the Marquisate of Est, and of the March of Ancona. Salinguerra gained back part of the power in Ferrara from him. On this account he entered into a league with the Parmesans, the Mantuans, and the Modenese against this enemy. At the desire of the Pope he took

arms to recover the March of Ancona of which the Marquises of Celano, partisans of Otto IV. had wrested a great part from him. He died of poison 1215, leaving only a daughter Beatrix, married to Andrè II. King of Hungary. He was succeeded by his half brother

Azzo VII. (whose mother was Adelaide, daughter of Renaud de Châtillon, Prince of Antioch.) He was obliged to give up almost all the authority of Ferrara to Salinguerra. After several alternations of success; of taking, and retaking; Azzo made Salinguerra a prisoner; and having delivered himself of a dangerous enemy, Ferrara opened its gates to him. The celebrated *Ecelin V.* Governor or Chief of Padua, the most powerful Tyrant of Italy, having despoiled him of part of his lands, Azzo, in 1256, entered into the Crusade proclaimed by the Pope against this Marauder. He marched with the Crusaders to the Siege of Padua: and the City being taken on the 20th of June, Azzo recovered his lands. In 1259, he formed a league with the Milanese, the Bolonese, the Cremonese, and the Padouans, against this Ecelin, who continued to

desolate Lombardy with his brigandages and cruelties. Azzo, at the head of the Confederates stopped him, on the 26th Sept. at the Bridge of Cassano, which he tried to pass to enter into the Milanese. Ecelin, wounded in the attack, retired; and made an effort at another passage by the Adda: but the next day, attacked afresh, he was taken, and conducted to Soncino, where he died 27th of the same month of the wounds he had received. On 16th or 17th Feb. 1264, Azzo died, at the age of 50, at Ferrara, which he had governed with much wisdom * for 24 years. He was succeeded by his *grandson.*

Obizzo II, (second of the name, of this family,) *son of Renaud,* succeeded to the Marquisate of Est: and was declared, by the common consent of the inhabitants Lord or Prince of Fer-

* The Republics did not confine themselves to defend their liberty against tyrants. they were scarcely less occupied in aggrandising themselves at the expence of their neighbours. One of these contests about the City of *Notandola* in the Modenese, gave occasion to *Tassoni's* Heroi-Comic poem, the *Secchia Rapita.* See the *Histoire diplomatique* of *the Abbey of Notandola* by F. Marie-d' Est Bishop of Reggio, published by *Tiraboschi,* 1764, 2 vols. Fol.

rara. In 1265, he marched to the succour of Charles of Anjou against Manfroi King of Sicily, in virtue of a league concluded between them Aug. 5th of this year. On March 30th 1276, he received of the Commissaries of the Emperor Rodolph I. the investiture of his estates situated within the sovereignty of the Empire. The MODENESE, who, after they were set at liberty, being under a Governor, were desolated by Factions, deputed on 15th Dec. 1288, their Bishop Philip Boschetti, Lanfranc Rangone, and Guido Guidone, to Marquis Obizzo to offer the principality to him. Obizzo accepted their offers, and sent his relation, Count Cinello, to take possession of the Sovereignty of MODENA in his name. He made his solemn entry in person in Jan. following. * Being chosen in the same manner Prince of REGGIO on 15th Jan. 1290, the better to attach to his party the *Rangone*, an illustrious and powerful family, † who enjoyed at that time

* Chronica di Bolog. Muratori, Rer. Ital. T. XVIII. p. 295.

† The Rangone family transplanted themselves from Saxony into Italy at the End of the XIth Century. Several of

great credit among the Modenese, and had determined to submit themselves to the House of Est, Obizzo married his second son Aldrobrandin to Alda, daughter of Tobie Rangone. The year following he made his Will; and ended his days 13th Feb. 1293, leaving by *Jacqueline de Fiesche* 3 sons, Azzo, Francis, and Aldrovandin; and one daughter Beatrix, married to Rene Scotto, Judge, or Lord of Gallure, in Sardinia; and 2dly to Galeas Visconti, Prince of Milan. He had no issue by Constance dalla Scala, his second wife.

Azzo III, his eldest son, succeeded him. On 3d March following (1293,) Modena chose him for its Prince. A few days afterwards Reggio conferred the same honour on him. But Francis and Aldrovandin, his two Brothers pretended, one to the Seigniory of *Modena*; the other, of *Reggio*. Aldrovandin, supported by the Rangone, surprized on the 29th March the same year the City of Modena; but was immediately

them were Governors of Bologna. They have been celebrated in Arms, and Letters. They were existing in 1785 as chamberlains to the Duke of Modena.

chased from it by the people. The Padouans espoused his interest; and having armed in his favour took and ruined the Castles of Est, Cotto, and Calaone. In 1294 Peace was established by a Treaty between the three Brothers. The two following years Azzo had war with the Bolognese, and the Parmesans; and withdrew himself with advantage. On 26th Jan. 1306, the Modenese, excited by the Captains placed over them by Azzo, chased his partisans, and set themselves at liberty. The next day those of Reggio imitated the example. In Feb. following these two Cities made a league with those of Padua, Verona, Brescia, Mantua, and Parma, to drive the Marquis also from Ferrara: but their efforts failed. Azzo died in his Castle of Est 31st Jan. 1308, issueless, tho twice married. On his death bed he named for his heir *Foulke*, son of *Fresco*, his Bastard, to the prejudice of his two brothers Francis and Aldrovandin, and the sons of the last.

Foulke, son of *Fresco*, *bastard* of Azzo VIII, was put in possession of the principality of Ferrara, by his father, with the aid of the Bolonese.

But Francis and Aldrovandin possessed themselves of Est, and many other territories of their House. Hence commenced a war between Foulke and the legitimate Princes of Est. These had recourse to the Pope for his assistance. But the Court of Rome required that they should acknowledge Ferrara a City dependent on the Roman Church. This point accorded, the Pope sent Officers and Troops to take possession of Ferrara under the orders of Francis d' Est. Foulke then made proposals to the Venetians to yield the City to *them* under certain conditions. The proposition being accepted, the Venetians sent Troops who forced the Ferrarese after several battles, to demand peace, and to receive a Governor such as the Conquerors chose to give them. Pope Clement V. irritated at this enterprise of the Venetians, published against them on 27th March 1309, a Bull, says Muratori, the most terrible and the most unjust to possess himself of Ferrara. To join Temporal to Spiritual arms, he caused a Crusade to be preached aginst them, which procured him in a little time a considerable army. The Venetians defended them-

selves valiantly; but on the 28th Aug. of the same year, the Ferrarese gained a complete victory over them, which decided the quarrel. The Pope having become by this Master of Ferrara, gave the Vicariat to Robert, King of Naples, without thinking of Francis d' Est, who had taken so much pains to obtain the repossession of this City. The Ferrarese, outraged by the bad treatment of the Officers, and Troops of the King of Naples, rose against them on Aug. 4th 1317, and having obliged them to retire into the Castle of Tedaldi, carried that fortress with the aid of the Marquis d' Est and the Bolonese, massacred the Troops, and delivered the place to the flames.

On the 15th of the same August, Renaud and Obizzo III, (sons of the Marquis *Aldrovandin* by Alda Rangone) were reestablished in the Sovereignty of Ferrara; and associated their third Brother Nicolas, first of the name. Pope John XXII. saw not this reestablishment with indifference. He summoned the three Marquises to abandon Ferrara; and on their refusal, as respectful and reasonable, he put the City under

an interdict, excommunicated them in 1320, and had them prosecuted by the Inquisition as Heretics. In 1329 the three Marquises approached the Pope, and abandoned the Emperor, Louis of Bavaria, his enemy, whose Party they had hitherto embraced; but the reconciliation was not consummated till 1332. The Marquises, having submitted to acknowledge the Pope as Sovereign of Ferrara, obtained of him a Bull, which conferred on them the Vicariat of this City, and its District, with the exception of Argenta, which the Pope reserved to himself; and which was committed to his Legat. In 1335 the three Marquises came to besiege the City of MODENA, then possessed by the Pii. RENAUD fell ill at the Siege, and having returned to Ferrara, died there Dec. 31st the same year. Gui and Manfroi des *Pii*, seeing the city of MODENA pressed by the ESTS who had rendered themselves Masters of all the Cities of the District, delivered them up this place on 17th April, and they took possession May 13th. In 1346, OBIZZO sold to Luchin Visconti, Prince of Milan, the City of *Parma*, which he had acquired in 1344, of Azzo

de Corregio. The Marquis Nicolas died May 1st, of this year, leaving one son *Renaud*, who died in 1369.

Obizzo on 27th May 1350, procured the removal of the Interdict placed from the end of 1313 on Modena by Pope Clement V. for the murder of Raymond d' Aspel, Marquis of Ancona, his relation, whom the Modenese had massacred and pillaged with his suite, as he passed through their territory to go into his Marquisate. On the 19th or 20th of May 1352, Obizzo died, leaving by *Rippa Ariosta*, his concubine, whom he afterwards married, five sons, and four daughters--Aldrovandin, Nicolas, Foulke, Hugh, and Albert; Alda, wife of Louis II. de Gonzagna, Captain of Mantua; Beatrix, wife of Waldemar, Prince of Anhalt-Dessau; Alice married 12th of July 1349 to Guy, son of Bernardin de Polenta, Lord of Ravenna; and Constance married 2d May 1362 to N... Malatesta, Lord of Rimini.

Aldrovandin III, eldest son of Obizzon III, succeeded him; and governed his Estates, though very young, with much vigilance, and vigour

The Emperor Charles IV. having come in 1354 into Italy, recognized his merit; and honoured him with singular esteem. Aldrovandin ended by a Treaty of Peace the quarrels he had had with the Dukes of Mantua, and Milan. But he did not long enjoy this advantage; for he died 3d Sep. 1361, aged 26. By Beatrix de Camino, his wife, he left *Obizzo*, who died a little time afterwards; and Verde married to Conrad, Duc de Teck.

Nicolas II. (of the name) succeeded his Brother *Aldrovandin*, to the prejudice of his nephew *Obizzo*. On Dec. 19th 1361, he and his two Brothers, Hugh, and Albert, were invested by the Emperor Charles IV, with Rovigo, Adria, Comachio, and other places. At the same time the Emperor confirmed to them the Vicariat which he had given in 1354 to Aldrovandin II. Nicolas had long quarrels with the Viscontis, which were terminated by a Treaty of Peace, in Feb. 1369. In 1371 he wrested the City of Reggio from Feltrin de Gonzagua, who was its Sovereign. But Feltrin sold it at the same time to Bernabo Visconti, Prince of Milan, who drove

away the Troops of the Marquis d'Est. Nicolas died 26th March, 1388, leaving by Verde, daughter of Mastin II. dalla Scala, a daughter Taddea married 31st May 1377, to Francis II. de Carrara, Prince of Padua.

Albert succeeded his brother *Nicolas* in the Sovereignty of Ferrara. A little time afterwards a Conspiracy was formed by the Princes of Padua, and the Florentines to assassinate him, and put his nephew *Obizzo* in his place. The Plot was discovered; and the Conspirators severely punished. Albert became immediately strictly united with Jean Galeas Visconti. He entered into the League of this Prince, and Francis de Gonzagua, Marquis of Mantua, against the Bolonese; but the Duke of Bavaria, who had passed into Italy with a strong army to succour the Bolonese having arrived on 3d October 1390, at Ferrara, succeeded in detaching Albert from the League; and in inducing him to contract on November 3d a new one with those, of whom he had declared himself the enemy. He died 30th July, 1393, much regretted by his subjects,

leaving by his wife Jane, daughter of Gabrino Roberti, a son and heir Nicolas.

Nicolas III. succeeded his father in infancy, under the regency of many nobles named by his Father; and the protection of the Republic of Venice, whom Albert had gained over to him. In 1394, *Azzo*, Marquis *d' Est*, (son of the Marquis Francis II. and first Cousin to Renaud, and Obizzo III.) who, having been driven from Ferrara, had become General of the Armies of Galeas Visconti, took advantage of the youth of *Nicolas* to attempt to get his Estates from him. Having entered into intelligences with many Ferrarese nobles and vassals of the House of Est, he entered the State of Ferrara, where he possessed himself of many places: but the Venetians, the Bolonese, and the Florentines having come to the sucour of Nicolas, obliged Azzo to retire. Azzo, having returned the following year, was beat on 16th April, and made prisoner by Astor de Manfredi, Lord of Faënza, who carried him to the prisons of that City. In 1397, Nicolas, at the age of 13 years, married in June, Julia de Carrara, daughter of Francis II. Prince

of Padua. In 1403 NICOLAS entered into the League formed against the Duke of Milan by Pope Boniface IX, who nominated him Captain-General of the Army of the Church. In concert with the inhabitants of REGGIO, he took this City from the Duke of Milan; but was driven out by *Ottoboni*, who feigning to come to the Duke's succour, kept the City for himself after having become master of it. On 13th May, 1408, Nicolas concluded a Treaty with Jean Visconti, Duke of Milan, and other Princes, to repress the brigandages which Ottoboni incessantly exercised in Lombardy. On 27th May 1409, Ottoboni was slain by Sforza Cotignola, General of the Troops of Nicolas, in a parley which he demanded of the Marquis to treat of Peace with him. On 27th July following Nicolas entered into *Parma;* and was declared its Prince; and rendered himself Master at the same time, of *Reggio.* In 1414, in a journey which he made to St. James in Galicia, he was made prisoner by the Castellan of the Castle of St. Michel, belonging to the Marquis of Caretto; and this solely for the purpose, according to the custom

of those times, of obtaining ransom-money; which was immediately paid.

In March 1425 Nicolas caused the head to be taken off of PARASINA MALATESTA his second wife, and also of Hugh, his natural son, convicted of a criminal intercourse with her. Aldrovandin Rangone, and two females, the accomplices of the adultery, submitted to the same fate.

On 9th Jan. 1426, Nicolas entered into a league with the Florentines and Venetians against the Duke of Milan; and was placed at the head of their Troops.

In 1431, Charles VII. King of France, by Letters dated from Chiuon, 1st Jan. permitted Nicolas to add to the *White Eagle* of his Coat of Arms the bearing of the Kings of France, the *three fleurs de lis of gold in an azure field* *

In 1433, Nicolas reconciled to the Duke of Milan, became Mediator in the war between the Venetians, the Florentines, and their Confederates; and succeeded in concluding a Treaty of Peace on the 22d April of this year. In 1441 he went to Milan, on an invitation from the

* Muratori, I. 195,

Duke; and there found his death, which carried him off on 26th Dec. not without suspicion of poison, By Richarda, his third wife, daughter of the Marquis of Saluces, he left two sons in minority, Hercules, and Sigismond. He had also five natural children, *Lionel*, *Borso*, Renaud, Albert, and one daughter, Blanche, married in 1468 to Galeotto Pico de la Mirandola.

Lionel, his *natural* son, succeeded, by the disposition of his Father, and that of the Pope, to the Principalities of Ferrara, Modena, Rovigo, and Comachio, &c. to the prejudice of the legitimate children of Nicolas. In Jan. 1435, he married Margaret, daughter of John-Francis I, de Gonzagua, Marquis of Mantua; she died 1439; and in 1444 he married Mary, natural daughter of Alphonso V. King of Aragon: but this Princess died 9th Dec. 1449. In 1450, Lionel was the Mediator of a Peace concluded at Ferrara between the Venetians; and Alfonso, King of Sicily. This Prince died Oct. 1st 1450, leaving by his second Marriage one son named *Nicolas*.

He was the protector of Letters; and wrote well himself in Latin.

Borso, the natural Brother of *Lionel*, was preferred to his legitimate Brothers, Hercules, and Sigismond; and succeeded to the Sovereignty. In 1452, he went to meet the Emperor Frederic III. on his visit to Italy; and entered Ferrara with him on 17th Jan. The Emperor revisited him 10th May on his return from Rome; and to witness to Borso the satisfaction he derived from his reception, he created him Duke of Modena and Reggio on the 18th of the same month: but he required for this favour an annual payment of 4000 golden florins. In 1459 Borso had the honour to receive at Ferrara Pope Paul II. He did not long enjoy this honour; for on returning to this City, he died 20th Aug. of the same year unmarried. He was the most accomplished Prince of his age. The protector of Letters, he brought the infant Art of Printing into his States: and according to Mattaire, Andreus Gallus was the first, who exercised the Art at Ferrara.

Hercules I. the *legitimate* Brother of *Borso*, born 1433, put himself into the possession of the Estates after Borso's death; and thus frustated

the hopes of *Nicolas* d' Est, *(son of Lionel)* who expected to succeed Borso, On 1st Sep. 1476 Nicolas, during the absence of Hercules, surprized Ferrara, by the treason of a Priest; but was driven away the same day by the Brothers of the Duke; and being pursued by Louis Trotti, was detained a prisoner at Ferrara, where, three days afterwards, he lost his head. In 1478, HERCULES was chosen by the Florentines to command their Troops against the Army of the Pope, and the King of Naples. In 1482, the Venetians, leagued with Pope Sixtus IV. declared war against the duke of Ferrara. This Prince after having made efforts to avoid it, entered into a League, on his side, with his father-in-law, Ferdinand, King of Naples, Louis le More, Governor of Milan; Frederic, Marquis of Mantua; the Florentines, and the Bentivoglios. Hostilities commenced in May; and on the 21st Aug. Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, was beat by Count Jerôme Riario, Nephew of the Pope, joined to Robert Malatesta, the Venetian Captain, at Campo Morto, near to Velletri. On Dec. 12th, following, the Pope, having detached himself from

the Venetians made a peace with King Ferdinand, the Duke of Ferrara, and their Allies. Thence all the Powers of Italy declared themselves against the Venetians. Sextus wished to make himself the arbiter of the Peace; and finding the Venetians opposed to his desires, excommunicated them on 25th May 1483, and put all their territories under interdict. The Venetians appealed from the Bull; and continued the War. After two years hostilities, the Duke of Ferrara, abandoned by his allies, made peace on 7th Aug. 1484 with these Republicans; to whom he surrendered Rovigo, and all the Polesin, of which they had possessed themselves.

The Duke Hercules died 5th Jan. 1505, leaving by Leonore, daughter of Ferdinand I. King of Naples: (whom he had married in 1473, and who died 1493,) three sons, Alfonso, Ferdinand, and *Hippolito*, afterwards *Cardinal:* with two daughters, Beatrix wife of Lodovico Sforza, Duke of Milan, and Isabel married in 1490 to John-Francis II, de Gonzagua, Marquis of Mantua.

This Duke has the praise of having intro-

duced into Italy a proper taste in Theatrical compositions and scenery. Ariosto wrote at the age of 19, a beautiful Elegy on the death of the Duchess Eleonore of Aragon. * The Duke had patronised the Poet.

"Nell' anno sequente, 1505" says *Baruffaldi* "segui la morte del Duco Ercole, il quale manco li 16 Gennaro, e nel mese stesso fu proclamato Duca, Alfonso fratello del Cardinale, il quale erasi trovato presente alla morte del padre, ed intervenne al solenne possesso preso dal nuovo Duca. L' Ariosto sommamente amato da Ercole avuta gran parte nel lutto universale della citta e della Corte." †

But his son, the *Cardinal Hippolito* is known to have been the principal patron of this Poet. He died 1520, aged 41. See his Character in *Baruffaldi's Life of Ariosto*, p. 121, and seq.

* "Secondo observarono *Barotti* nell' Elogio d' Ercole, e il *Tiraboschi* nella sua Storia letteraria, al genio di quel Principe dee principalmente l' Italia l' introduzione del nuovo buon gusto in materia di Teatro," *Baruffaldi-La Vita di M. Lodovico Ariosto. Ferrara*, 1807, *4to p.* 60 *Ib* 70.

† Ib. 127.

The Biographer says the Cardinal was at Rome, when the *Orlando Furioso* was first published in April, 1516, and discusses at length the tale of the exclamation attributed to the Cardinal on his first interview with the Poet, after reading his wonderful production. "*Messer Lodovico, dove avete mai trovate tante fanfaluche?*. Some attribute this to an affected humility and reserve "*delle molte lode a se date ed alla Casa Estense*." *

Alfonso I. (the Cardinals elder Brother) who succeeded his Father Hercules, was also a patron of Ariosto; gave him a pension; and built a Theatre for the exhibition of his Plays. This Prince, born 1476, married three times. 1st. on 23 Jan. 1491, aged 15, Anne, daughter of Galeas Marie-Sforza, who died enceinte 30th Nov. 1497. 2dly Lucrece Borgia, daughter of the Pope Alexander II. This Lady had already had three husbands: the two first marriages had been set aside by her Father: the third husband, Alfonso of Aragon, had been strangled on 18th Aug. 1500

* 16. p. 174.

by the order of Cæsar Borgia, the brother of Lucretia. And after the death of Lucretia, which happened in 1520, Alfonso married in his latter days Laura Eustochia del Dianti, of a low birth, after having had two sons, Alfonso and Alfomain, whom he procured to be legitimated by the Emperor; but whose legitimacy the Court of Rome would not acknowledge. (Alfonso was father of *Cæsar* d'Este, afterwards Duke of Modena, and Reggio.) Alfonso, having entered into the League of Cambrai, was created, on 19th April 1509, by Pope Julius II.* Gonfalonier of the Church: but this Pontif, in the following year having withdrawn from the League, tried to detach also the Duke of Ferrara: and not succeeding, thundered a Bull against him, by which he excommunicated him, and deprived him of Ferrara; and all his lands within the Holy See. Six days afterwards the Troops of the Pope possessed themselves of Modena, by means of secret intelligences which Julius had carried on in the City. They made several con-

* De la Rovere,

quests in the Ferrarese; and at the same time the Venetian on their side possessed themselves of the *Polesin,* which Alfonso had recovered. The valour of Alfonso saved the City of Ferrara, which Troops of the Pope, commanded by his nephew, the Duke of Urbino, had approached. This General took the same year from Duke Alfonso, Reggio, and Brecello. Alfonso was more happy in 1512 at the Battle of Ravenna, fought on 11th April, three miles from this place. It was by the force of his artillery, that he rendered the French victorious this time. Hoping, after such brilliant success, to find the Pope more tractable, he demanded a safe-conduct, which was granted him that he might visit Rome. Having arrived in June, he was absolved by the Pope from censures, and admitted to kiss his feet. But while he was in this City the Duke of Orbino took from him several places in Romania, and forced Reggio, which he had recovered, to surrender itself. The Pope wanted Alfonso to cede to him the Duchy of Ferrara: but not being able to obtain this sacrifice, he resolved to keep him prisoner. The Duke, hav-

ing penetrated his design, escaped by the aid of the Colonas, and returned to Ferrara, where he heard without regret the death of Julius, which happened 21st Feb. of the following year.

In 1514, Pope Leo X. bought of the Emperor for 40,000 gold ducats, the City of Modena, which Julius II. had placed as a depot in his hands. Leo, having promised to Duke Alfonso, in the presence of Francis I. to give up to him this City, as well as Reggio, was so far from keeping his word, that he charged the Bishop of Vintiglia, who was at Bologna, to get possession by susprise of Ferrara, during an illness, which held the Duke in inaction.

Happily the Marquis of Mantua, nephew of Alfonso, having perceived the Troops of the Pope approaching Ferrara obliged them to retire. Leo who had concluded a Secret League on 8th May 1521, with the Emperor and the Florentines, made a new attempt on Ferrara; and failed as before. Thence, furious to see himself frustrated of his hopes he did not blush to thunder out his Monitoire against the Duke Alfonso; and to put Ferrara under interdict. But the

1st of December following Leo X. went to render to his God the account of his actions; and by his death delivered Duke Alfonso of a most powerful enemy.

This Prince,* unable to contain his joy at this event, caused money to be coined, on the reverse of which is the device of a Man rescuing a lamb from the claws of a Lion, with these words underneath: De Manu Leonis.

He recovered a part of his Territories in 1522; and in the following year, after having made an attempt upon the city of Modena, defended by Giuchardin, Governor for the Pope, whom he vainly summoned to return to his obedience, he presented himself on 29th September before Reggio, which opened its gates to him without resistance. In 1527, he obliged the Rangoni, who then commanded at Modena, to give up the place to him; and made his entry the next day, amid the acclamations of the People,

On 15th Nov. following he entered against his Will, into the League formed by the Holy

* Medici

College, the Kings of France and England, the Duke of Milan, the Republics of Venice and Florence, against the Emperor Charles V. for the deliverance of Pope Clement VII.* This Pope so little acknowledged the service, that the following years he entered into two several plots to deprive him of his Estates; and even of his life. The Emperor, being at Bologna, in 1530, with the Pope, persuaded him to admit the Duke to a reconciliation. The Duke agreed with the Pope to submit their differences to the Emperor. The Emperor decided that Reggio and Modena belonged of right to the Duke; and for the sum of 100,000 ducats the Pope should give him a new investiture of Ferrara.

This judgement was made at Coloque, 21st Dec. 1530; but not published till 21st April following. Clement VII. refused to submit; and watched his opportunity to revenge himself both of the Emperor, and of the Duke; but before the opportunity occurred, he died on 25th September 1534.

Alfonso soon followed him to the tomb, hav-

* Medici natural Nephew to Leo X.

ing deceased on 31st Oct. of the same year: aged 69: and having survived the incomparable Poet, who in his *Orlando Furioso* has rendered the House of Este so glorious, only a year.

Alfonso "was a Prince" says Muratori, "who in good sense and valour, had few equals in his time: and he had great need of these qualities to sustain him against three powerful Popes, full of worldly passions; and desiring ardently to deprive of their territories the very noble house of Este."

By his second Duchess Lucretia Borgia, he had three sons, Hercules, his successor; Francesco, Marquis of Massa; and Cardinal Hippolito (2d of the name.)

Hercules II. Duke of Ferrara and Modena, eldest son, was born 4th April 1508. In his youth he delighted in the genius, and took upon himself the patronage of Ariosto. He married Renee of France, 2d daughter of Louis XII and of *Anne of Bretagne*, (his 1*st* wife) with whom he had in portion the Duchy of *Chartres*, which the King created in his favour.

One of the first objects of Hercules, after

having taken possession of his estates, was to endeavour to get the new Pope, Paul, III.* to approve the judgment given by Charles V. in favour of his House. With this design, after having sent an Ambassador, he went himself to Rome on 9th Oct. 1535; and having received only equivocal answers from the Pope, he went from thence to Naples to wait upon the Emperor, who was returning triumphant from his expedition to Africa. Charles V in passing through Rome in 1536, pressed the Pope on this point; and could obtain nothing. At last on 23d Feb. 1539, Francis D' Este, brother of the Duke terminated this great affair at Rome, whence he returned with the renewal of the investiture of Ferrara, given by Alexander VI, to the House of Este.

In 1543 Hercules received Paul III, on April 3d, at Modena, and on 21st of the same month at Ferrara.

In 1556, ceding to the menaces of Pope Paul IV, † and to the solicitations of the Duke

* Farnese. † Caraffa

of Guise, his son-in-law, he unwillingly signed on Nov. 3d the League formed by the Pope; and by France against Spain. The Pope named him General of the Army of the Church; and the King of France created him Lieut. General in Italy. But the arms of Spain being unsuccessful in Italy, and the Pope having accomodated with Philip II. the Duke of Ferrara, after having taken some places in the Duchy of Parma, was anxious to make peace; and succeeded by a Treaty concluded 8th March 1588.

He died 3d Oct. 1559, æt. 52. By Renèe of France, he had issue two sons and three daughters. 1. Alfonso II. his successor. 2, Louis, afterwards Cardinal, and Archbishop of Auch, who deserved, (says De Thou,) the treasure of the Poor; the glory of the Sacred College; and the ornament of the Court of Rome. The three daughters were. 1. Anne, who married the Duke of Guise; and afterwards in 1566, Jacques de Savoiè, Duc de Nemours. 2. Lucretia, married 19th Jan. 1570, to Franc Mar. De la Rovere, Duke of Urbino. 3. Eleonore lived single, and died 16th Feb. 1581 -- *the Princess to whom*

Tasso's supposed attachment is ascribed as the cause both of his cruel imprisonment, and his insanity.

Reneè, the Dukes widow, lived till 1575, her 69th year. She was a Princess, learned and the protectress of Literature. She returned into France; and died in the Castle of Montargis, having embraced the Protestant Faith. The House of this Princess, while she remained in Italy, was the asylum of all the French. To remonstrances on this, she answered: *"What would you have me do? They are my poor French, who, if God had given me a Beard, and I had been a man, would have been my subjects! Even now they had been so, were it not for this wicked Salique Law!"*

Alfonso II, born 22d Nov. 1533, was in France in the service of that Crown, when his Father died. He immediately returned to Italy; and with his wife *Lucrece de Medicis,* daughter of Cosmo I. Duke of Tuscany, made his solemn entry into Ferrara, 26th Nov. Lucrece died about two years and an half afterwards 21st April 1561: and the Duke remarried on 5th Dec.

1565, the Archduchess Barba, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I. On 13th Aug. 1566, he departed from Ferrara with a numerous retinue, preceded by a little Army, to go to the succour of Hungary, attacked by the Turks. But Soliman II. dying 30th of the same month, and Selim, his successor, showing a disposition for Peace, there were few enterprises on one side or the other; and all reduced itself to the capture of two places by the Turks.

On 19th Sep. 1572, the Duchess Barba died. On 2d Dec. following Cardinal Hippolyto d'Este terminated his career. He was Archbishop of of Milan, Bishop of Ferrara, &c. most of which benefices passed to his nephew, Cardinal Louis d'Este.

On 25th Feb. 1579, the Duke married a third time Marguerite de Gonzagua daughter of William, Duke of Mantua.

It was on the celebration of the Duke's third marriage with *Margerite Gonzuagua*, that Tasso returning from Turin to the Court of Ferrara, to be present at the Festivals, and finding himself neglected by the Duke; no provision made

for him; his old apartments occupied, and no attention paid to his various and earnest remonstrances; broke out at last into such passionate and unbridled reproaches against the House of Este, that the Duke to his eternal reproach, ordered him into confinement in the Hospital of St. Anne, *as insane!* and suffered him to linger within those wretched walls for seven years of untold and inexpressible horror! That such was the immediate cause of Tasso's confinement, his best Italian Biographer *Serassi* * has, I think, sufficiently proved, by Extracts from several of Tasso's *own letters!* The story therefore of the imprudent kiss stolen from the Duke's sister, the Princess Leonora, must fall to the ground. But the confutation of the Poet's attachment to the Princess does not seem to be established with equal clearness. †

* Bergamo, 2vols. 4to. 1790.

† I have omitted that Tasso's father, *Bernardo*, had been Secretary to the Duchess Renee, on her first arrival at Ferrara from France; where he had known her; and where he had also celebrated *Margaret of Valois* in his verses.

The Princess Leonore died 10th Feb. 1581, after a long illness, in her 45th year. *

Mr. *Hobhouse* in his *Illustrations of Childe Harold. p.* 15, says: "It is too certain that Leonora deserted the Poet in the first days of his distress; and it is equally known, that Tasso, who would not have deserted an early flame, did not hang a single garland on the bier of his supposed mistress."

Of all *Lord Byron's* Poems the most classical and the most pathetic is surely his *Lament of Tasso:* a composition for which scarcely any praise can be too high! †

Duke Alfonso died without issue 27th Oct. 1597, at the age of 51 years, regretted by his

* On her death was published a Collection of Italian and Latin Poetry with this Title: *Lacrime di diversi Poeti volgari e Latini sparse per la morte dell' Illustriss ed Excellentiss. Madama Leonora di Este; e raccolte da Gregorio Ducchi; e dallui dedicate all Illustriss e Reverendiss Sign. Cardinal d'Este suo Signore In Vicenza nella Stamperia nuova, MDLXXXI, 4to.*" *Serassi, Vita, II.* 49. No verses of Tasso were among these.

† Manso's Life of Tasso, is I believe scarce. There is an abridgement of it by *Guido Cassoni,* at the end of his Poems, *Venice* 1626, 12*mo.*

subjects, whose happiness he promoted; by the Men of Letters, whom he protected; and by the Architects whom he did not cease to employ in the decoration of his Palaces; and of the Public Buildings of Ferrara and Modena *

Thus ended the *Dukes of Ferrara*, the *first* Line of this House.

DUKES OF MODENA AND REGGIO.

Cæsar I, son of Alfonso of Este, Marquis de Montechio, by *Julia de Rovere*, (which Alfonso, was half *Uncle* of the last Duke of Ferrara, being son of the last marriage of Duke Alfonso I. by *Laura Eustochia des Dinanti*, whose children the Emperor had legitimatised, but whom the Court of Rome did not choose to acknowledge,) was born in Oct. 1562; and married in Feb. 1586, to Virginia de Medicis, daughter of Cosmo I. grand Duke of Tuscany. On 29th Oct. 1597.

* There is a Life of Alfonso I. of Este, the Grandfather by Paulus Jovius. This was translated into Italian by *Giovambattista Gelli*, a Florentine. *In Venetia appresso Gio. Battista, et Gio Bernardo Sessa, 1579, sm. 8vo.* Appended to, *Commentario delle cose di Ferrara, et de Principi da Este* by *Giambattista Giraldi, a Gent. of Florence. Ibi.*

he was declared DUKE OF FERRARA, MODENA, &c. in right of the Testament of Duke Alfonso II. who had declared him his universal heir. Immediately after his coronation, he sent an Ambassador to Rome, to make his part good with Pope Clement VIII. But the Court of Rome, the moment it became apprized of the death of Alfonso, pretended that the *Duchy of Ferrara* had devolved to the Holy See, *ob lineam finitam, seu alias causas.* In consequence the Pontif far from acknowledging CÆSAR as the legitimate successor of Alfonso II. caused a Monitory to be published, on 4th Nov. by which he cited him to appear at Rome within 15 days, to shew the reasons for his having taken the title of *Duke of Ferrara.* At the same time he assembled the Troops of the Church, with an order to enter into the Ferrarese. CÆSAR, in dismay, sent a new Ambassador to the Pope, to explain his reasons. They were examined by the Holy College, whom they embarrassed. Clement VIII. feared that many Princes, even Heretics, would come to the assistance of Him, whom he wished to despoil. An adventurer drew the

Pope into an intrigue by persuading him to send trusty persons to Ferrara, to seduce the inhabitants, and engage them, by large promises, to submit themselves to the Holy See, The expedient succeeded.

Clement VIII. * published 23d Dec. a sentence by which he declared CÆSAR D'ESTE (whom he regarded as a *bastard, without venturing to call him so,*) incapable of succeeding to the *Duchy of Ferrara;* excommunicated this Prince, with all those, who aided, and abetted him. Meantime the Troops of the Pope to the number of 25,000 men, approached Ferrara. DUKE CÆSAR, after having vainly addressed himself to different powers to obtain aid, endeavoured to put himself in a state of defence. But perceiving that he could not stand alone against so strong a party, he resolved to solicit an accommodation, and to demand a suspension of arms in the interval. This was granted him on condition, 1st

* Hippolyto *Aldrobrandin,* born at Fano, on the shores of the Adriatic, 1535, died 1605, aged 69. It was this Prince who designed for Tasso the honour of the Coronation at the Capitol.

that he should deposit in secret the ornaments of the Ducal Power in the presence of the Magistrate of Ferrara. 2ly. that he should place in hostage his son, aged 7 years, in the hands of Cardinal Aldrovandin, nephew of the Pope, and Legate at Bologna.

These conditions fulfilled, the Cardinal nephew having gone to Faënza, the place chosen for the conferences, signed with the Minister of the Duke, on 13th January 1598, a Capitulation containing among other clauses, that CÆSAR D'ESTE should be absolved from all censures in renouncing possession of the *Duchy of Ferrara*, and its dependencies; and in ceding to the Pope half the artillery and arms, which were in the City.

The DUKE, after having ratified this Act, departed from FERRARA in the same month of January; and went to establish his Court at MODENA. In Feb. following, the Pope published a Bull, by which he re-united the *Duchy of Ferrara* to the Holy See. *

*FERRARA, which had not the title of a City, till after the seventh age of the Church, arrived at an high degree of

But the Court of Rome, not content with putting itself into possession of this Duchy, seized also the allodial property, and Fiefs dependent on the Emperor.

splendor and population under the government of these Dukes who neglected nothing to adorn it: and render it one of the most beautiful and best peopled Cities of Italy. Since the time that it has fallen under the power of the Popes, it has become so deserted, that it has scarcely more inhabitants than Houses: though Clement VIII. caused an handsome Citadel to be erected; and made it the residence of a Legat. It is situated on the smallest branch of the Po: 10 leagues from Bologna; 15 from Ravenna; and 76 from Rome.

See Hobhouse's Note, *(Illustr. p. 27)* to Lord Byron's line.

"Ferrara! in thy wide and grass-grown streets!"

Jerome *Baruffaldi* (a predecessor and relation of the late *Author* of the *Life of Ariosto*, of that name) published at Ferrara in a thin 4to. in 1699, *Dissertatio de Poetis Ferrariensibus*: *typis Bernardini Pomatelli. pp.* 64. Among these are Ariosto, and Tasso, though neither of them born here.

Baruffaldi born 1675, died 1755, aged 80. He was the Author of many Works, see *Mazzuchelli.*

Baruffaldi also wrote *della Storia di Ferrara Lib. IX.* Ferrara, 1700. 4to.

Barotti left one splendid Fol. Volume of *Letterati Ferrarese*, 1777, the continuation was terminated by his death, which happened also to the magnificent Fol. Vol. of *Letteratura Veneziana* of *Foscarini*, 1752.

Duke Cæsar gave his attention to the embellishment of his new Capital, to which numbers of Ferrarese, undeceived by the event, as to the vanity of the promises of the Emissaries of the Pope, transported themselves with their effects; and fixed their abode.

In 1602, Cæsar had a war with Lucca, on the subject of the territory of Garfaguana, which his house had possessed from 1429, and which was determined in his favour by the Emperor. It was renewed in 1613, and ended the same year, without any marked success,

On 11th Dec. 1628, this Duke died, leaving by Virginia de Medicis his wife, (who died in 1615) *six* sons; 1. Alfonso, his successor; 2. Louis: 3. Hippolito; 4. Nicolas; 5. Borso; 6. Foresto: and *three* daughters. 1. Julia; 2. Laura, wife of Alexander Pico, Duke of Mirandola. 3. Ange-Catherine, a religieuse.

Alfonso III. Duke of Modena, eldest son of Duke Cæsar, and of Virginia de Medicis, born 22d Nov. 1591, succeeded his father in the Duchies of Modena, and Reggio. He had been married in Feb. 1608, to Isabella, daughter of

Charles-Emanuel I, Duke of Savoy, whom he lost in 1626. Alfonso made his will in 1629, by which he made Francis his eldest son his heir; and made provision for his other children, viz. Obizzo, who was made Bishop of Modena, 1640, and was afterwards a Cardinal; for Cæsar, who took an active part in the government of his great nephew; for Charles-Alexander; for Renaud, who was created a Cardinal 1641; for Philibert, who died in 1645, at the Age of 22 years; for Margaret, who married Ferdinand, Duke of Guastalla; for Anne-Beatrix, wife of Alexander Pico, Duke of Mirandola. *

* This family of PICO of MIRANDOLA have been rendered familiar in name to all the intelligent Nations of Europe by the celebrated prodigy of learning JOHN *Pico of Mirandola.*

Mirandola is an Episcopal City, situated between Mantua and Modena, and is the Capital of a little State, which from the commencement of the XII[th] Century was possessed by the family of PICO. Their ancestor *Pisus de Manfredis* was Governor of Reggio, 1154,

In 1416, JEAN PIC married Catherine daughter of William Bevilacqua, and was father of

JEAN-FRANCIS PIC, who by Julia daughter of Feltrin Boiardo had three sons. 1. Galeotto. 2. Anthony-Marie. 3. Jean.

The next day ALFONSO solemnly abdicated the Ducal Power: and retiring among the Capuchins of Morano in the Tyrol, took the habit of their Order, on 8th Sep. under the name of *Brother John Baptist of Modena,* being then only in his 38th year. He persisted in his vocation,

This 3d son was the renowned Scholar. He was called COUNT OF MIRANDOLA though a younger brother; as all the sons seem to have been entitled to share the inheritance and the titles. He studied the Law at Bologna at the age of 14 years; thence he passed to the most celebrated Universities of France and Italy. He pretended at the age of 18 to be master of 22 languages; a thing incredible. At the age of 24 he published at Rome a challenge to all the world to to dispute on proposed subjects, which embraced the whole range of the Sciences, *de omni scibili.* Envy accused some of his Theses of Heresy. The Pope pronounced more than one suspicious: Pico apologised; and by his submission obtained absolution. Pico then applied himself to the study of the Sacred Writings; and to confute the Jews and Mahometans and to shew the vanity of Judicial Astrology. He renounced his share in ths Principality; distributed his goods among the Poor; and shut himself up in one of his Castles. He died at Florence, in 1494, aged 32.

This Epitaph was made on him: *Joannes jacet hic Mirandola; cælera norunt Et Tagus et Ganges; forsan et Antipodes.*

Pico's Works have been printed at various times from the end of the XVth through the XVIth and XVIIth Centu-

and died in the course of a Mission, which he made to the Province of Carfagnana, at the foot of the Appenines, 14th May 1644. æt. 54.

His eldest son, Francis I. born 5th September 1610, succeeded his Father at his return from a Journey made into France, Flanders, and Germany.

ries. A collection of them was printed at Basil, 1573, and 1601, Fol. with his Life by his nephew *Gio. Franc. Pico.*

Galeotto Pico, his elder Brother, married in 1468, Blanche, daughter of Nicolas III. Marquis d'Est. Proud of this alliance, he pretended to the whole paternal inheritance; and for this purpose accused his next brother Anthony Marie, of treason. He arrested him and put him in irons at the bottom of a Tower. He did the same by his mother Julia, whom he retained prisoner in her chamber, for taking Anthony's part. Anthony was afterwards set at liberty; and lived sometime in peace with his brother; and during this interval married Constance, daughter of Saint-Bentivoglio. They quarrelled again; and there was no more accommodation.

Galeotto died 7th April 1499, leaving by Blanche-Marie, natural daughter of Scipio d'Este, 3 sons, John-Francis; Louis; and Frederic, with a daughter, Madeleine, a Religieuse.

John-Francis Pico, succeeded his Father, but so far from extinguishing the brand of discord lighted by his Father in his family, trod too closely in his Father's steps. He

In 1630 Italy was desolated by the war on account of the succession to the Duchy of Mantua, and by the Plague then raging in the Country. Francis had the address to keep the first of these evils from his Estates; but he could not guard it against the other. On the cessation of

refused to divide the succession with his brothers Louis and Frederic. Louis, aided by the forces of Hercules d'Este, and of his father-in-law, Jaques Trivulca, Marquis of Vigevano, despoiled his elder brother in 1503 of Mirandola and Concordia. Having engaged in the service of the Pope, Julius II. he was slain in 1509, combating at the head of his troops against the Venetians. Two years afterwards Julius II whose hatred to the French, and their allies, is known to all, having come in person to make the siege of Mirandola, carried it by assault, and entered by the breach. He then surrendered it to JOHN-FRANCIS for the sum of 20,000 ducats, which he required of him, with his oath of fidelity. The Battle of Ravenna, gained on the 11th April 1512, by the French, put them again in possession of Mirandola; and forced JOHN-FRANCIS again to quit it. The Emperor re-established him a little time after.

He enjoyed these estates peaceably for about 20 years, applying himself entirely to the study of the Belles Lettres, and the Sciences, in imitation of his uncle *John*, when in 1533 his nephew GALEOTTO Pico. (2d of the name) son of *Louis*, having entered in the night into the City, with forty armed men, poignarded him, and his son Albert, as they were prostrate before a Crucifix. At the same time the assassin had

the Plague, he thought of marrying. In 1631 he espoused Maria Farnese, daughter of Ranuce I Duke of Parma. The Mantuan war always giving him inquietude, he provided for the safety of his Capital by a Citadel, which he built in the western Part. It was in this same year, that

Jeanne Caraffa, the wife of John-Francis, and Charlotte des Ursins, with her husband John-Thomas Pico; and Paul the last son, to be imprisoned.

Paulus Jovius says that this death was a just retribution for his cruelty; for that having caused the coin to be debased, and having profited greatly by the fraud, he yet yielded to a capital punishment the person he employed in this business, to appease the murmurs of the people, But many have thrown all the odium of this affair on his wife, who they say engaged in it without his knowledge. Sadoleto says that he was a Prince who united strength with reason, modesty with power, piety with arms, learning with political administration. He had not so much vivacity, or subtlety, or erudition, as his Uncle *John;* but more solidity. Several of his Writings are in print. *See Biog. Dict.* also *Tiraboschi Lett. Ital.* and *Biblioteca Modenese.*

Galeotto enjoyed peaceably the fruit of his Crimes till 1556. But his Cousin, *John-Thomas,* (son of John-Francis) having escaped from prison, made efforts to re-enter on the States of his Fathers. Though these efforts were insufficient for his re-establishment, they determined *Galeotto* in 1562, to deliver up the State to King Francis I. (of France,) who gave him lands in France in compensation. He died in 1571

he received from the Emperor Ferdinand and the King of Spain, to whom he was attached the investiture of the Principality of *Corregio*, which he had obtained of this last Power for the sum of 230,000 gold florins.

In Feb. 1636, being in a League with the

leaving by his wife Hippolita Gonzagua, daughter of Louis de Gonzagua, Count of Sabionetta, a son Louis; and two daughters, Silvia, wife of Francis, Count de la Rochefoucauld; and Fulvia, married to Charles de la Rochefoucauld.

Louis, son of Galeotto, survived his father only three years, having died in 1574. By his wife Fulvia, daughter of Hippolyto de Corregio, he had issue, (besides Galeotto, who was a Commander of Malta,) Frederic, and Alexander.

Frederic, his successor, died in 1602, without issue.

His brother, Alexander, was by an Imperial Diploma of 1619, created Duke of Mirandola, and died 1637, having married Laura, daughter of Cæsar d' Este, Duke of Modena, and leaving a son,

Galeotto III, who died before his father, the same year, leaving by his wife, Marie Cibo, a Son in infancy,

Alexander, who married Anne-Beatrix d'Est, daughter of *Alfonso III. Duke of Modena.* He died 1691, having had by the above Anne-Beatrix, four sons, and three daughters. 1. Francis. 2. Galeotto. 3. John. 4. Louis, a Cardinal. 5. Marie-Elizabeth. 6. Laura, married to Ferdinand de Gonzagua, Prince of Castiglione. 7. Fulvia, wife of Thomas, Prince of Aquino

Spaniards, he entered into the Territories of his brother-in-law Edward, Duke of Parma. He was beat by the Marquis de Villa at San-Lazaro; but the Marquis de Leganez having sent him a considerable reinforcement, he took several places in the Parmesan, obliged the French to retire behind the cannon of Parma; and made great waste in this country.

The same year a peace was concluded by the

Francis, eldest son, who died before his father, left issue by his wife *Camilla Borghese*, an only son.

Francis-Marie, who succeeded his grandfather. During the wars in Italy, between Philip V. and the Emperor, the troops of Germany entered into Mirandola, and obliged La Chetardie, the commander of the French Garrison to retire.

In 1704, Francis-Marie, on attaining his majority embraced the party of France and Spain. The Emperor, irritated, confiscated his Estate; and sold it for 160,000 pistoles to the *Duke of Modena*, who received investiture on 12th March 1711; and secured a pension of 3000 pistoles to the deprived Duke.

This Duke died in Spain, without issue by his wife Marie-Therese daughter of Philip Anthony Spinola, Marquis de Los Balbazes, who was drowned at Madrid 15th September, 1723, by an inundation which happened to the garden and house of Ognato.

mediation of the Pope, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and he retired into his own States.

On 12th Aug. 1628, he departed again from Modena, with a magnificent retinue, to visit Madrid, bringing superb presents for Philip IV, King of Spain, whose daughter Maria-Theresa, the princess who in 1660 espoused Louis XIV, he held at the Font. On 25th Nov. of the same year Modena received back its Sovereign covered with honours, and enriched with the presents received at the Court of Madrid.

His Duchess, Marie, died in Childbed 25th June 1646,

In 1647, discontented with the Court of Spain, who persevered in the refusal to remove their Garrison from Corregio, after having sold him that Principality, the Duke turned to the side of France; and accepted the command of their Armies in Italy. He acquired little glory in this post, his designs being always crossed by the French Generals, on whom he was dependent though invested with the title of General in Chief. Finally in 1649, the Marquis de Caracena, Governor of Milan having entered with the Spanish

Troops, into the Modenese, obliged the Duke to demand Peace which was signed 27th Feb. of this year.

In the precedent February he had married, by the dispensation of Pope Innocent X, Victoire Farnese, sister to his former wife. This Princess died 10th Feb. of the year ensuing.

On 23d April, 1654, the Duke married a third time to Lucrece Barberini, grand-neice of Pope Urban VIII.

At the beginning of March 1655, the Marquis Caracéna, wishing to force the Duke of Modena to give up to his brother *Renaud* the title of *Protector of France*, put himself in march to enter a second time on the States of this Prince. At this news the Duke sent immediately to demand succour from the Court of France, and the Duke of Savoy. Meanwhile he put his places in a state of defence, and put on so good a face, that the Marquis, after having uselessly besieged Reggio, was compelled to retake the rout for the Milanese.

The Duke, having now joined his troops to those of France, and of Savoy, commanded by

the Prince Thomas, went to the Siege of Pavia, which was opened the 24th July; but he received a bruise in the shoulder, which obliged him to be carried to Asti, where he passed three months in recovering himself. The Siege of Pavia was raised Sep. 15th following; and the Prince Thomas returning sick to Turin, died there 22d Jan. 1656.

At the commencement of June, Duke Francis, on his return from a journey to Paris, formed with his Troops and those of Savoy, the siege of Valence, which surrendered the 7th Sep.

In 1657, he had not the same honour at the Siege of Alexandria, which he commenced, 17th July; and which he was obliged to raise on the 19th of August.

In July 1658, the young Marquis of Villa, sent by the Duke of Modena, surprized the City of Trin occupied by the Spaniards. On 15th Aug. the Duke made himself master of Mortara. It was his last expedition: he returned ill; and retired to die at St Agatha, in Piedmont 14th Oct. of the same year, aged 48.

By his first wife, Marie Farnese he had two

sons; and three daughters: 1. Alfonso his successor. 2. Aymeri. 3. Isabel, born 1635, married 1664, to Ranuce II. Duke of Parma. 4. Leonore, born 1642, a Religieuse at Modena. 5 Marie, born 1644, third wife of Ranuce II. Duke of Parma.

By his *last* wife, *Lucrece Barberini*, who died 1699, he had issue a son, *Renaud*, (who succeeded his nephew Francis II. as Duke of Modena.)

Duke Francis joined to the skill of a Warrior a taste for the Belles-Lettres; and a love of the Arts, which flourished at Modena, in his reign. It was He, who commenced the Ducal Palace from the designs of Avanzini.

His eldest son, Alfonso IV. born in Febuary 1534, married 27th May, 1355 *Laura Martinozzi, niece of Cardinal Mazarin.* He succeeded his Father not only in his States, but as General in Chief, of the Armies of France, in Italy, of which the patent was sent to him in Dec. of this year. In 1659, seeing France disposed to make peace with Spain, he tried, by the advice of Mazarin, to make his accommodation with this Power; and succeeded in renouncing the League

which his Father had contracted with France. By the peace of the Pyrenees, concluded between France and Spain, it was agreed, that Spain should withdraw the garrisson, which it held at Corregio; and that the Emperor should engage to give investiture to the Duke of Modena.

The Duke, for some years tormented with the gout, died on 16th July 1662, at the Age of 28 years, leaving by *Laura Martinozzi* two Children, Francis, his successor; and MARY, second WIFE OF JAMES II. *King of England.*

FRANCIS II. born 6th March 1660, succeeded his Father under the Regency of his Mother, who governed the State of Modena with admirable wisdom during the Regency of her Son.

In 1664 by the Treaty of Pisa, which was concluded between Pope Alexander VII. and the King of France, it was provided that the Pope should indemnify the Duke of Modena for the pretensions, which he had on the City and Vallies of Commachio: but this article was never carried into execution.

In March 1674, FRANCIS, having attained the age of 14 years, took the reins of Govern-

ment into his own hands. His great uncle *Cæsar d'Este*, acquired such an ascendancy over his mind, that his mother, the Duchess Laura, unable to bear such a rival, took the resolution to retire to Rome, which she executed, notwithstanding her son's entreaties, in April 1676. In that City, on 19th July 1687, she died, with the reputation of an heroine, and virtuous Princess.

On 14th July 1692 Duke Francis married *Marguerite Farnese*, daughter of Ranuce II; and died of the gout, at Sassuolo, 6th Sep. 1694, æt. 35, without issue.

He was a great lover of Letters, and the Arts. He founded the rich *Library of Este;* the Academy of *Dissonanti*, the University of Modena; and made the beautiful Façade of Marble to the Church of St. George, which had been built from the designs of the celebrated Vigerini.

Renaud, *uncle* of the *half-blood* to Duke *Francis II.* (son of Duke Francis I, by Lucretia Barberini) was born 25th April 1655; created a Cardinal 2d Sep. 1686; and succeeded his nephew as Duke of Modena in 1694. He went to Rome in May 1695, and brought back the

Duchess, his Mother, who had retired thither in Oct. 1683 to shut herself up in a Convent. But the arrival of this Princess occasioned the departure of the Duchess Margaret, widow of Francis II. who on 20th Nov. following quitted Modena; and returned to Parma, where she died in June 1699.

Eight days after the departure of Margaret, the Duke RENAUD married by procuration, at the Castle of Hanover, *Charlotte-Felicite*, eldest daughter of *John-Frederic*, * *Duke of Brunswic-Hanover, (elder brother of Ernest-Augustus* * *who by his marriage with Sophia, daughter of Frederic, Elector Palatin, was Father of George I. King of England.*

* Their Father GEORGE of Brunswick-Luneburg, died in 1641. His wife was Anne-Eleonore, daughter of Louis I. Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstad. His eldest son, Christian Louis, succeeded his uncle Frederic II. in 1648, as *Duke of Zell:* but died without issue 1668; and was succeeded by his next brother George-William, as *Duke of Zell.* This last died in 1705, leaving a daughter and heir, Sophia-Dorothy, married to her first Cousin, K. George I.

GEORGE, of *Brunswic*, was 5th son, (but his 4 elder brothers left *no issue,*) of WILLIAM, *Duke of Zell*, who died 1592, by Dorothy, daughter of Christian III. King of Denmark.

By this marriage the Italian and German Branches of this most ancient and princely House became again united, after a separation of *six hundred* years. The German Branch are descended, as has been shewn, from Albert Azzo II, Marquis of Italy, and Prince of Este, by his *first* wife, Cunegonde, a Princess of the House of GUELFE: the Italian Branch, from his *second*

This William was *younger* brother of *Henry*, who was father of Augustus, ancestor of the line of *Brunswic-Wolfenbuttel*. Henry and George were sons of ERNEST I. Duke of *Zell*, who died 1546, by Sophia, daughter of Henry, Duke of Mecklenbourg.

HENRY, *Duke of Lunebourg*, was father of Ernest I. by Marguerite, daughter of Ernest, Elector of Saxony: and died 1532.

OTTO, the *Victorious*, was father of Henry; and son of FREDERIC I. *Duke of Lunebourg*, who died 1478---son of BERNARD I, *Duke of Lunebourg*, who died 1464. 2d son of MAGNUS II. surnamed TORQUATUS, *Duke of Lunebourg*, slain 1373, son of Magnus *Debonaire*, who died 1368; son of Albert II, of Gottingen and Brunswic, who died 1318; 2d son of Albert, *le geand*, who died 1278; son of Otto I. *l'Enfant*, Duke of Brunswick and Lunebourg, who died 1252, son of William de Lunebourg, who died 1213; 2d son of Henry, *the Lion*, Duke of Saxony, and Bavaria, who died 1195.

marriage with Gersende, daughter of Herbert, *Count de Maine.*

In 1698 Duke Renaud obtained of the Emperor a diploma, to confirm to him the possession of Corregio, which had been disputed by Gilbert, a descendant of the ancient Sovereigns of the Principality.

On 6th Jan. 1702, he delivered up the Fortress of Brescello to the Imperialists, who had already entered into the Mirandola. At length seeing the French Troops ready to overrun his Country, he departed from Modena with his family and his Court, on 30th July; and went to establish himself at Bologna, till the storm was passed.

The French, established at Modena, seized and confiscated, on the 8th Dec. 1703, all the Revenues of Duke Renaud, under the pretext, says Muratori, that his Minister at Vienna, being in the Antichamber of the Queen of the Romans, had saluted the Archduke Charles, afterwards declared King of the Romans, and made his Compliments to him.

The unfortunate Duke was not better treated

by the Imperialists, whose bad conduct had forced him to abandon them. On the night of the 19th or 20th of Nov. 1706, they made the assault of the City of Modena. The French, who after the breach was forced, were not active in gaining the Castle, were massacred in the heat of the capture.

The following year, while the imperialists pressed the Siege of the Citadel of Modena, Duke RENAUD arrived from Bologna, on Jan. 31st, and 7th Feb. following, engaged the Governor to give up the Place, notwithstanding the orders he had received to defend it to the last extremity; and notwithstanding the menaces which had been cast upon him, if he should have the negligence to give it up. This was done by Chevalier Folard, notwithstanding the refusal of all the other officers to sign the Capitulation, and nothwithstanding the indignation of the Garrison.

The French should have gone out by the Breach; but as there was none, one was made. When this labour was finished, a *thousand Besieged* marched out in the presence of *six hundred*

Besiegers! This affair ended by a Pension of 6000 livres granted to the Governor.

In 1708, an event occurred, which seemed to open to the Duke of Modena, a way to re-enter upon the other inheritence taken from his ancestors. In May of this year, the Emperor Joseph, discontented with Pope Clement XI. sent Troops into the Ferrarese, to get possession of Commachio and its district, as an Imperial Fief usurped under the Pontificate of Clement VIII. He extended these pretentions to all the Ferrarese.

Clement XI, unintimidated, caused 20,000 troops, under the command of Count Marsigli, to march against the Imperialist, who had already made themselves Masters of Commachio and other places. But on the 15th Jan. of the following year he made a Treaty of Peace with the Emperor, which contained an article that the differences between the Pope and the Duke of Modena should be submitted to arbitration; and that Commachio should remain in the Emperor's hands, till it was otherwise agreed on; and that Commissioners should be named on one side and

on the other to regulate the pretensions of his Imperial Majesty upon the Fief.

"The Duke of Modena could not disguise from himself" says Mably "that notwithstanding all that was pretended to be stipulated in his favour, his interests were sacrificed to the avidity of *Joseph;* and that this Prince only sought to cover his usurpation under the honourable name of a Sequestration. The Duke therefore protested against the Treaty of 1709."

At the commencement of 1725, Pope Benedict XIII, obtained of the Emperor Charles VI. the restitution of Commachio.

In 1710, the Emperor, to punish Francis-Marie Pico, Duke of Mirandola, for having taken the part of France and Spain, confiscated his Duchy, and the Marquisate of Goncordia, and put them to public sale, without regard to the well-founded pretensions of the House of Torelli.

In May the Duke of Modena made this acquisition for 200,000 pistoles.

On 28th Sep. 1710 he lost his Duchess, Charlotte Felicitè, who died at Modena,

In 1714 he was again obliged to retire to Bologna, after the French and the Spaniards had possessed themselves of his estates in the War which they made with the Emperor.

In May 1736 the Enemy having evacuated the Duchy of Modena, the Duke re-entered the end of the same year. In October following he received from the Emperor Charles VI, the investiture of the County of Novellara, vacant by the death of the last Count, Philip de Gonzagua dead without issue.

Duke Renaud now fell sick; and died 26th of the same month (May 1736) aged 81; leaving one son, and three daughters; 1. Francis-Marie III. 2. Benedicta-Ernesta, died unmarried 19th Sep. 1777. 3. Amelia-Josephine. 4. Henrietta-Maria, married 1st on Feb. 5th 1728, Anthony, Duke of Parma, s. p. 2dly in 1740, Leopold, Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, who died in 1764, and whom she survived till 1777.

Francis-Marie III. only son of Duke *Renaud* by Charlotte Felicitè, of Brunswick, was born 2d July 1698; and married on 21st June 1720, Charlotte-Aglaè, daughter of Philip, Duke

of Orleans, Regent of France, who died in 1736. was at that time in Hungary, serving in the Army of the Emperor against the Turks. At the termination of the Campaign, he came to Vienna, on Nov. 1st, and was here named by the Emperor, General of his Artillery. On 4th Dec. following, he arrived in his Capital, where he received magnificently, in 1739, the Grand Duke Francis of Lorraine; and his Consort, Maria-Theresa, who were on a visit to their Estates in Tuscany.

In 1742, pressed on one side by the Austrians, and on the other, by the Spaniards, in the War then renewed between the Houses of Austria and Bourbon; the Duke of Modena took the part of neutrality; but the Austrians demanded that he should declare himself for them. On his refusal the King of Sardinia, the ally of the Queen of Hungary, entered at the head of an Army, into the States of Modena.

The Duke then quitted his Palace of Sassuolo, where he was with his Court; and retired on June 6th, (1742) to Ferrara, whence he immediately passsed to Venice.

The City of Modena surrendered itself to the Allies, without resistance, but the Citadel defended itself with vigour under the orders of General Paludi; and did not capitulate till the 28th of the same month.

The hostilities of the Allies now obliged the Duke to declare himself for the House of Bourbon. In 1743 the King of Spain appointed him General in Chief of his Troops in Italy. The Duke on his arrival at Rimini, where the army of the Count de Gages was stationed, took upon himself this charge on the 9th of May. In Nov. following he broke up his Camp at Rimini, before the Army of Count Lobknowitz; and turned to the side of Naples. On Aug. 11th of the following year a detachment of the Austrians surprized the King of Sicily and the Duke of Modena at Veletri. But these Princes, having rallied their Troops, who had taken flight, fell upon the enemy, who only occupied themselves in pillaging the City, and putting to flight the troops who had escaped the first fury of the soldiers.

On Dec. 29th of the same year, Maria-Theresa-Felicitè, daughter of the Duke and Duchess

of Modena, born 6th of Oct. 1726, was married at Versailles to Louis-John-Marie de Bourbon, Duke of Penthievre.

On 24th April 1745, the Duke of Modena, having passed the Panaro, entered into the Carfagnana, a Province of his Estates occupied by the Allies, and possessed himself of Castel-Nuovo; and afterwards of Fort Mont-Alfonso. The taking of these places facilitated to him the reunion of his Army with that of the Infant Don Philip, whom he rejoined, in effect, in the State of Genoa, in the month of May following.

On the night of the 7th or 8th of August the Duke opened the trenches before Tortona, which he forced to capitulate on Sep. 3d, after a vigorous defence.

On the night of the 21st or 22d of the same month he entered with a detachment, by an Aqueduct, into Pavia, of which he rendered himself master.

In 1746, Las Minas having come into Italy, with the patent of General, sent on the part of Ferdinand, the new King of Spain, the Infant Don Philip and the Duke of Modena, seeing

that he would not acknowledge their authority but in appearance; and that he acted despotically, following secret orders with which he was furnished, took the resolution to retire into Provence.

In 1748 the Duke of Modena was re-established in his States by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The following year he made a journey to England; and arrived in London on 19th April. He departed on June 1st following; and went to Cologne, whence the next day, taking the route by Francfort and the Tyrol, he made his entry at Venice on the 31st of August; and at length, after an absence of seven years, entered Modena, 28th Sep. 1752; and was received with the most distinguished marks of joy.

In Dec. 1753, the Empress-Queen, having named her second son the Archduke Peter-Leopold Governor of all the Countries she possessed in Lombardy, sent to the Duke of Modena the Patent of Vice-Governor of these Countries. The Prince, in consequence, arrived at Milan 9th Jan. 1754; and the next day took possession of the Government in the name of the Archduke.

Having left this City Feb. 4th, he returned to it on 22d Aug. following, to resume the administration of the Duchy of Milan.

On Jan. 19th 1761, died at the age of 60 years his Duchess Charlotte-Aglae d' Orleans, whom he married on 21st June 1720.

The Duke survived her *nineteen* years; and ended his career at Varese, 23d Feb. 1780, at the age of 82 years, leaving by this marriage one son, Hercules-Renaud; and two daughters, Mathilda, born 7th Feb. 1729, living 1785; and Marie-Fortuneè, born 24th Nov. 1731, married 27th Feb. 1759, to Louis-Francis-Joseph de Bourbon, Count de la Marche, afterwards Prince of Conti.

Hercules-Renaud, Duke of Modena, (only son and heir of *Francis-Marie*,) born 22d Nov. 1727. succeeded in 1780, to the States of Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola. On 29th Sep. 1741, he married Maria-Theresa, daughter of Alberic II. Cibo-Malespina,* Duke of Massa,

* This family were descended from Pope Innocent VIII. (*Jean-Baptiste*-Cibo) who died 1492. His son Francis Cibo was Count of Aquillara, and Ferentillo, and died aged

Prince of Carrara, and last branch of the male line of this ancient family. She died at Reggio, 26th Dec. 1790, and was interred in the Church of the Holy Virgin, called *Della Ghiaia.*

70, having married Magdalena daughter of Lorenzo de Medicis.

His son Lorenzo Cibo, Count of Ferentillo, and first Marquis of Massa died 1546, aged 58, having married Ricorda *Malaspina*, daughter and heir of Alberic, Marquis of Massa, and Carrara.

His son Alberic I. Cibo, was created Prince of Massa by the Emperor Maximilian I. and died 1623, aged 96, By his first wife Elizabeth de Rovere, daughter of Francis-Maria Duke of Urbino, he was father of

Alderamo Cibo, who died before his father, 1608, leaving by Marfisa d' Este,

Carlo I. Cibo, Prince of Massa, and Marquis of Carrara, who died 1662. He left issue by Brigita Spinola.

Alberico II. Cibo first Duke of Massa, and Prince of Carrara, who died 1690, leaving by Fulvia Pico, daughter of Alexander I. Duke of Mirandola.

Carlo II. Cibo, Duke of Massa, and Prince of Carrara who died 1710. His wife was Camilla, daughter of Camillo. Prince of St. Martino.

His eldest son Alberico III. Cibo, Duke of Massa, and Prince of Carrara, died 1715, and was succeeded by his brother

Alderamo, Duke of Massa, and Prince of Carrara, who died 1731. His wife was Ricarda, daughter of Camillo II. Count of Novellara.

In 1796 the Victories obtained in Piedmont by the Armies of France, under the orders of General Napoleon Bonaparte, forced Duke Hercules III. to determine to quit his States, which were threatened with an irruption on the part of the enemy.

He quitted Modena, with his sister, the Princess Mathilda, on the Evening of May 7th 1796, to the great regret of his subjects; and retired to Venice; having named, before his departure, a Regency, at the head of which was the Marquis Girard Rangone. To this Regency the Duke confided the government of his dominions. A little after a deputation was sent to the General in Chief, who was at Placenza; and he required a great contribution to be paid to the French Army; and an Embassy to be sent to the Directory of the Republic at Paris, to treat of a Peace with them.

The Count of San-Romano, named to this difficult mission, departed immediately accompanied by the Professor John-Baptist Venturi, and two Secretaries: but all these proceedings went for nothing: and the French Troops took hos-

tile occupation of Modena on the evening of Oct. 6th 1796.

In this year there was assembled at Reggio, by order of Bonaparte, a Congress composed of *Cispadane* Italians; and on 27th Dec. it decreed the unity and indivisibility of the *Cispadane Republic*, to which these provinces were joined: but only for a short time; for Bonaparte by his decree of 27th May, 1797, detached them from the *Cispadane*; and united them to the new *Cisalpine Republic*; which had MILAN for its Capital.

A little time after the Treaty of Leoben, war being renewed, the fate of Arms entirely changed in Italy; and on 30th April 1799, the Germans penetrated on the side of Parma. On 4th May of the same year the Austrians occupied Modena, where a Regency was provisionally established, which published, on 13th May new regulations for administering the Estates of the House of Este.

But the French Army, which remained in the Kingdom of Naples, commanded by General Macdonald, approached by forced marches to

Modena, to come to the succour of the Grand Army encamped near the Po. A body of Austrians, under the orders of General Ott, opposed itself to their passage through these States, with the sole view of retarding their march. In effect the French, having on the evening of 11th of June 1799 given the signal of an attack upon the ramparts of Modena, they put it into execution the day after, and the Austrians sustained it feebly for some time; after which they abandoned the City to the French, who entered it, and caused much destruction.

The German Corps retired to Placenza, where it rejoined the Army of the General in Chief Melas, and that of the Russian General Suwarrow, who were watching the French. These last were beat at Trebia, on 19th June; and were obliged to retire, on the 24th in a bad condition, upon Reggio, and Modena. Thence they retired into Tuscany, always closely pursued by the Austrian General Klenau, who, on the 25th, occupied Modena.

These provinces then returned under the dominion of Duke HERCULES, who named a Re-

gency, over which presided the Imperial Commissary, Count Querrieri of Mantua.

But the Duke continued his residence at Treviso; for he perceived that the affairs of Italy were not yet settled.

In effect the Battle of *Marengo*, gained by the French in June 1800 rendered them again Masters of all Lombardy, and the contigious Provinces.

The Conquerors established the Government of the *Cisalpine Republic* at Modena as well as at Reggio; a government which subsisted till the epoch of the Foundation of the KINGDOM OF ITALY; of which these States formed two Departments: one named, *of Panaro*, having for its chief City, Modena; the other *of Crostolo*, having for its chief City, Reggio.

When the City of Venice was threatened, and afterwards occupied by the French Arms, Duke HERCULES retired to *Treviso*, with his sister Mathilda. He lived exiled from his States till 1803, when after a long illness sustained with Christian resignation, he died the night of the 13th or 14th of October, aged 75 years, 10

months, and 24 days; and was buried in the Church of the Capuchins of that City. In 1816 the Body was transported to Modena; and deposited in a tomb in the Cathedral Church according to the orders of his Will.

Here ended the male line of the Italian branch of the very ancient and illustrious House of Este.

In the same month the Princess Mathilda died at Treviso: and in the following month, her sister, the Princess Fortunèe, widow of the Prince de Bourbon-Conti, terminated her days at Venice.

Marie-Beatrix d'Este, only daughter and heir of the last Duke, by *Marie-Therese de Cibo Malespina,* succeeded her Mother, on 26th Dec. 1790, in the Principalities of Massa and Carrara.

On 15th Oct. 1771, this Princess married the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, younger son of the Emperor Francis I. and of Maria-Theresa: and carried to him her rights of inheritance upon Modena, Reggio, and Mirandola.

The Events of the war had forced the late Duke to exchange the States of Modena for Brisgaw and Ortenau in conformity to the provisions

of the Peace of *Luneville* of 1801. But the Duke, not choosing to take possession of these Provinces, made a cession of them to his son-in-law, the Archduke Ferdinand, who preserved the Sovereignty till 1805, when they passed to the Grand-Duke of Baden.

The Archduke Ferdinand died 24th December 1806, leaving four sons, and three daughters.

Francis IV. (eldest son of *Marie-Beatrix d'Este* by the Archduke Ferdinand) born 6th Oct. 1779, was called to the DUCHY OF MODENA in 1814.

At this epoch the affairs of Europe changed their face. The Neapolitan Troops, under the orders of Murat, then King of Naples, appeared, on 21st Jan. without seeming to assume an hostile character. But in a few days there arrived two small Corps, one Austrian, and one English, commanded by General NUGENT.* These joined themselves to the Neapolitan Troops; and commenced hostilities against the Army of the Kingdom of Italy.

* The same, who was lately Commander in Chief at *Naples,* till removed by the Revolution of July 6th 1820.

On 7th Feb. General Nugent published a Proclamation, by which he delivered up these States to the legitimate successor, Francis IV, Archduke of Austria, eldest son of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, deceased, and of the Archduchess, Marie-Beatrix d' Este, sole surviving Branch of the ancient family of Este,

On 14th July, 1814, the new Sovereign Francis IV. entered solemnly into Modena, accompanied by his Consort, Marie-Beatrix-Victoire, daughter of the King of Sardinia; and followed by Prince Maximilian d'Este, Archduke of Austria, his Brother. This gave the greatest joy among all ranks of the Citizens, who thus saw their wishes accomplished.

The tranquillity, which had now commenced in Italy, was disturbed in the following year, 1815; and Modena was again enveloped in the common evils; from which however it was soon relieved by the activity which its Sovereign took in military affairs,

On 4th April 1815, the Army of Murat presented itself before the ramparts of Modena, then guarded only by a Corps of German Infantry;

and a few Cavalry under the orders of the Austrian General Bianchi. The Neapolitan Forces were much more considerable, though badly commanded; and the Duke of Modena judged it proper to withdraw himself for a little time from the Capital: and therefore went to Mantua, whither he was preceded some days by the Archduke Maximilian, who went immediately into Austria, to accelerate the succours destined for the German Army in Italy.

The Archduchess had already gone some days before to Mantua, while all the family transported itself to Venice.

But the Austrian Troops, being already on the road, very quickly arrived, after some partial combats, which they sustained with the enemy; and in which the last were always beaten.

On the night of the 11th or 12th of April, the Neapolitan Division, preceded by King Murat, quitted Modena, which was entirely relieved by seeing the next morning Duke Francis arrive at the head of a Corps of Hungarian Cavalry.

This second Entry of the Prince was an epoch for his subjects more joyous than the first,

when they saw themselves delivered from the imminent danger of falling into the hands of Strangers. And all hastened to testify their delight at a return so prompt, as well as so desirable.

The victories gained by the Germans over the Army of Naples; which in a few days was constrained to quit the States of the Holy See, always closely pursued by the Austrians, encouraged the Pope to return anew to Rome, whence he had fled a second time, when the Neapolitan Troops approached his Capital. He took the the route of Tuscany, and Genoa: but in returning, he honoured, for a fourth time, the City of MODENA with his presence; and arrived there on 24th May 1815. He was received at the Gates of the City by the reigning Duke, and remained there till the 27th of the same month.

The present DUKE has issue.

LETTER XX.

Remarks on the subjects of the last Letters---History---Bibliography---Public Taste.

Naples, 5th August 1820.

I HAVE been induced in my former Letters to give some account of the Sovereigns of three of the chief of the Petty States of Italy: of MILAN,* the most considerable Principality of Lombardy;

* I have said nothing of the Literary history of MILAN, which I ought to have a little enlarged upon. Like all the great Cities of Italy, it has copious and laborious Works, dedicated to the record of the Lives and Writings of its learned Men; especially *Philippi Argelati Bononiensis Bibliotheca Scriptorum Mediolanensium.* Two splendid Folio Volumes, *Milan,* 1745. Among these may be mentioned *Andreas Alciatus,* well-known to the English for his EMBLEMS: and *Cardan,* the Physician, for whom see No I. of the *Retrospective Review.*

of PARMA† and of MODENA. Whoever is curious about the History of Europe in the XIVth XVth XVIth and XVIIth Centuries, must wish to have a clear understanding of the Viscontis, the Sforzas, the Farneses, and the Estes. Numerous as are the accounts of them to be found in the Volumes of learned and well-furnished Libraries, they do not often occur in such Books, as are at present in general circulation in England.

In truth, though *Bibliography* is a study, which may be very much abused, and is too often the rage of *a Fool with a long memory*, yet he, who is not tolerably well versed in the solid parts of this study, must be content, in all the literary departments, of which the fruit is to be derived from the collected wisdom of ages, continually to waste his labour on what has been already done to his hands; and to be blind to a thousand lights, which, if accessible, he will not be forgiven for having neglected.

† *Cristoforo Poggiali*, Librarian of the Royal Library at Placenza, wrote, *Memorie per la Storia Letteraria* di Piacenza. 2 vols 4to. *Piacenza*, 1789.

Thus soundly applied, it teaches us a just humility by the opportunity of comparison; and, though a learned man may not be a man of genius, or talent, yet talent and genius can advance but a little way without learning.

A Nation, which has passed its highest point of Literary vigour and splendor is apt to mistake superficiality for taste; and to call whatever is solid or copious, dull. They like what requires little attention, and still less reflection: a pert joke; a gaudy metaphor; an oracular sneer! Some short and piquant remark, which may not puzzle the understanding, or overload the memory; but may be easily borrowed; carried away; and form a bon-mot for conversation! Something, which boldly takes part with vulgar feelings! Something which, as in some former ages it was the fashion to overrate the claims of literature, panders to the mean passions of the public of the present day by degrading and debasing them! Something, which glories in coming back to a belief in first appearances which treats whatever is taken on the authority of the Wise as prejudice: which rejects every thing profound,

as curious and useless subtlety: which relies on the unborrowed and unprompted force of its own understanding; and believes that real illumination, and sound learning, have risen up for the first time in the *Nineteenth* Century!

A Book to please such tastes may easily be written by any practised Author, who will condescend to apply a very small degree of ingenuity in the exercise of the necessary *Charlatanism!* The learned JOHN BURCHARD MENCKENIUS (who died 1732, æt. 58,) wrote a Book *De Charlateneria Eruditorum.** This, I believe, was first

* In the *Charlatanism* of Dedications, the Author speaks of our *Thomas Fuller*, the author of the *Worthies*; the *Church History*, &c. "Alii, ut Thomas Fullerus, celebratissimus Historicus Anglus, libros suos plurimis voluminibus partiuntur, singulisque singulos præponunt Principes aut Optimates, a quibus lucelli quippiam aucupantur." *p.* 63.

The author speaks of the vain collectors of Books, in the same manner as, it is now the fashion to speak, *as if it was a discovery!*

Ad eos pergo, qui, cum ipsi nihil habeant, quod prodant, vel polliceantur, satis tamen se tueri posse putant nomen eruditi, si cunctas suas facultates dilapidantes, quicquid ubique prodeat librorum, quos nec legunt quidem unquam, nec si legant, intelligunt, avidissime corradant totosque montes congerant, quæ longo ordine velut in armamentariis disposita,

published at Amsterdam, in 1716. I have the 6th edition, published at Naples, 1786. 8vo.

But the mode and form of Charlatanism necessarily varies with the Age: it must follow the fashions and prejudices of the day. At the commencement of the Seventeenth Century, Sermons and Disquisitions were loaded with endless quotations from the Classics and Fathers. Every thing was proved by authority: Now every thing is proved, by what is called reason!

Books, like assortments of goods, are made for the sole purpose of pleasing the public taste:

multoque auro ac purpura distincta aliquoties per diem hilarem vultu adspectant, amicisque ac clientibus suis identidem ad nauseam usque demonstrant."

The Neapolitan Editor adds in a Note the following French Extract:

"De toutes les occupations une des plus vaines c'est sans doute celle de faire une Biblotheque, pour ne s'en servir jamais. Il est vrai, que c'est un meuble qui pare une chambre de meme que les porcellaines, les tables, les peintures, les tapisseries. Dons.... ne lit, et ne lira jamais; mais il a du bien.... Il achete des livres, les fait relier bien proprement, forme une nombreuse Bibliotheque. A certain jour, a certaine heure, une fois le mois, il fait placer sor fauteuil vis à vis de ces beaux livres; et là illes contemple... Apres quoi il se retire toujours ignorant, mais fort satisfait d'avoir vu des Livres."&c *V. Refl. Mor. Sat. et Com. p.* 35, *seq.*

not to lead it! Not their learning, but their *nescience*, must be consulted! The pages must be as light as their understandings; and as fashionably devoid of laborious discussion! The tone of fashionable society must be adopted: the current topics must be just touched upon; a piquant thing on the most trifling and insignificant part of them must be said---and then away to something else! Politics may be touched:---but touched with a smile, and a sneer; as if every thing old was the abuse of the rights of the Many, for the gratification of the Few; and as if the present Epoch alone had freed our judgments from prejudice!

Whether we are in any respect;---either in genius, taste, or learning, advanced beyond our ancestors, may at least be strongly doubted! Whether in Criticism, that Art in which we are supposed to have made the most rapid progress, we have effected any sound and just improvement, is a question much less easy to determine, than is supposed. It is true, we have increased tenfold in severity: but I doubt, if there be much sound policy in turning out Authors, to be bated like wild-beasts, for the public entertainment! to

gratify the worst malignities of a literature-hating Mob! *

I know, that in these our days other motives than a regard to the cause of Literature, real or pretended, have been the main springs in the propagation of Literary Judgments. The dissemination of political Opinions; the advocating the cause of a Party has been the prime purpose of the principal British Journals of the XIXth Century. Literary merit, or demerit, has been

* But here again there is perhaps nothing new: In the Notes to Menckenius I find this passage.

"In hunc censum (*veritatem non dicendi*) referendi sunt multi Ephemeridum Scriptores, qui sine ullo aut judicio aut delectu excerpta compilare, et superfluis suis insulsisque alieni laboris, sive censuris, sive panegyricis mercedem menstruam promereri soliti sunt.

Alii id curant tantum, ut suos ipsi libellos eosque, qui ex officina Typographi sui prodeant, extollant; ceteros omnes præstantissimos licet, carpant et sugillant, quo id consequitur, ut Autores velint nolint, sua scripta offerant gratis Censoribus illis ut vel levi saltem censura afficiantur, vel indicta certe maneant. Ita sunt, qui J Clericum accusant, quod nullo alio fine tot annis scripserit suas Ephemerides, quam ut scriptis suis digne recensendis ac vindicandis, aliorum vero, quibus male vellet, carpendis locum faceret." *pp.* 187. 188.

therefore made a consideration subordinate to these views.

The National Reading has therefore been confined to a few Books: and those Books have become the Masters of the Public mind. Individuals are scarcely ever strong enough to face them. One gigantic mind did so; and conquered!

But the only proper reference, which the subject of Literary Criticism has to these Letters, is the manner of writing Accounts of Travels; and the objects of the particular Travellers curiosity. Some go in search of the Arts; some, of Literature; some, of Society and Manners; some, of the face of Nature; some, of natural Science; and some, of political institutions. But without particular opportunity, to how little advantage can most, (if any,) of these be pursued?

What that is worth relating can a superficial Connoiseur, always in motion, tell of pictures, and sculptures, and buildings? Can we by passing a night, a day, or a week at an Hotel, guess at the political character of the people, among whom it is placed? Can we guess at the evils

that grind them; can we prognosticate the changes, that would make them happy?

Then as to society and manners,---a man like Dr. Moore, travelling with a Duke of Hamilton, a British nobleman, of the highest rank, and of an historical name, might have an opportunity of seeing them internally; and describing them with exactness! but what proud spirit, to whom it is not so easy, will come with crouching introductions; and wait the mercy of whim and prejudice; neglect and insult?

The access perhaps to *Literati* is not so difficult---at least to a busy man, who can condescend to solicit introductions! And the scenes of Nature are open to all!

> "You cannot shut the windows of the sky,
> Through which Aurora shews her opening face." *

Little incidents and anecdotes, which shew traits of National character, are much sought after and praised! But it too often happens, that these are traits of the mere surface of character, and into the bargain,--of that portion of society, about which little interest can be felt.

* Thompson's Castle of Indolence.

As few writers of Travels therefore either know how to select proper topics, or have the talents, the learning, or the opportunities to supply themselves with the proper materials for the due treatment of those topics, few Books in this department are of any permanent value; or even of any momentary interest, except to vulgar and uncultivated curiosity.

More than forty years have elapsed, since *Coxe's Tour into Switzerland* first appeared. It still retains its reputation;—and justly. This arises from the sound and useful matter of which it is formed. The learned Author's mind was directed to whatever was worthy of notice in scenery, natural curiosities, history, politics, biography, literature, geography, statistics. His character, introductions, address, curiosity, activity, and spirits introduced him every where to the most distinguished local Literati: and from them, or with their aid, he learned, or was directed to the means of learning, whatever it was most desirable for his purpose to know, on the numerous topics which the enquiries of his comprehensive and well-stocked mind embraced.

Matter thus widely gathered; then well-sifted, admitted with all the guards of a well prepared and long-instructed judgment, and told with the skill and precision of a Scholar, must comprehend what is beyond the reach of the individual imparters of the separate portions. Each Local Man of Letters might have been more exact, and more profound, as he would have been more original, in his own particular sphere. But in him the combination would have been wanting.

It may be also observed, that an observing Stranger has some advantages in selecting peculiar traits of manners or whatever else is uncommon, over a native, in whom familiarity blunts remark.

Coxe's Tour therefore has lost little of its value from Time. The sterling ore of the matter preserves it: and though it has been distilled, and hashed up into an hundred subsequent works, there is always a freshness in the original relator, which literary piracy cannot successfully counterfeit!

Whenever therefore a Traveller with all the

qualifications of COXE, including his industry and address, shall arise, he may make a valuable addition to literature, and to knowledge. But how much the greater part of volumes of Travels are pert and offensive trifles, worse than waste paper.

An unfortunate opinion prevails, that a man without literary habits, or even without literary talents, may be able to produce an agreeable, if not an useful Book of Travels!---How can he get the information?---What substitute can he produce for the want of it?---If a man of genius, or even of literature alone is deficient in the intelligence, which ought to be the first ingredient of such Works, still by his general opinions, by his taste, by his style, by his very authority, he may make an agreeable and instructive Book!

CONCLUDING LETTER.

Geneva, 5th February, 1822.

AS it has been resolved that the communication to the Public of my LETTERS FROM THE CONTINENT shall close here, a desire has risen in my mind since yesterday to give here a few parting words.

How far my Printer has conducted the reader, I know not: probably not beyond Bologna; through which we passed for the first time about the 23d of October 1819.

We remained at Florence till the end of April 1820; then having spent nearly three weeks at Leghorn, arrived at Naples, by sea, the end of May.

Here we remained till the 8th or 10th of Dec. ---reached Rome in the evening of the fourth day, after a perilous escape from the Brigands;

staid there till 7th of April 1821; thence passed back to Florence; and by Bologna, Ferrara, Rovigo, and Padua, to Venice; which City we left again on the fifth day.

We now returned through Padua, Vicenza, Brescia, and Bergamo, to Milan, where we rested only one day.

By Vercelli and Novara we came to Turin; and passing the Alps again by *Mont Cenis*, reached Geneva a second time on 12th May, 1821

It was curious to have an opportunity of observing the short reign of the CARBONARI government at Naples.

It was not less so to have one's ears every moment assailed by the cunning and deep-planned reports, framed of utter invention, which thousands of emissaries were propagating during the passage of the Austrians round the walls of Rome in March 1821; and which English credulity repeated with untired and undestructible eagerness. It would have taught to me, if I had not known before, of what stuff revolutions were made. I wrote privately to England my observations and opinions; but my intelligence

was not palatable; and therefore few would give credit to it.

What astonished me was the utter want of accurate information of the English Newspapers *on both sides*, at this time. The *opposition* Papers naturally shut their ears to that, which they did not wish. But the Government Papers were equally ignorant. When I asked some of my private correspondents why they did not give a hint of what I wrote to them, so contrary to the current news, they answered; "*why, it was disagreeable to people; and they did not like to hear it!*" Thus, "Qui vult decipi, decipiatur!"

The last Letter of those printed is probably one of those written from Naples in August 1820. Seventeen eventful months have since passed. I could not crowd all that I have observed, and all that I have learned since that time into half a dozen thick volumes! I do not assume that the matter of such volumes would have much hope of being to the public taste. I should have been glad however, if I had had sufficient encouragement to fix them upon paper. Perhaps it would

have given me a stimulus to embody many things, which are yet undeveloped even to myself!

Let it go! I have occupation enough without the task of these Letters! And it cannot be denied, that the Public have a right to choose, and to carve for themselves. I wish they did do this! but, alas, they choose and carve according to the dictates of certain Reviewers; under the dictates of certain Booksellers! While this is the case, all taste will be mercenary; or at best capricious! All opinions will be adapted to some temporary purpose. And literature, of which it was formerly the highest praise to exalt us above the *arbitrium popularis aurœ*, becomes its most entire and most unresisting victim.

It is said, that the Mob always takes the tone of a qualified leader!---It takes the tone in general, of some leader! but is he always, or commonly, a qualified leader? Sometimes he is a sprig of fashion! Sometimes he is at the head of a political faction! Sometimes he is a publisher's hireling, paid to set off his employer's goods! Sometimes he is in the pay, or under the patronage of some overweening, upstart, presumptuous

Aristocrat; whose assumptions, whose violences, whose intrigues, whose ambitions, and whose importance, he must guard by every maneuvre, and at any sacrifice! Sometimes he is the chief of a literary coterie, out of whose pale no merit is to be allowed!

Of all the misfortunes that can happen to Literature, the greatest is its entire subjection to temporary politics. It is in this latter occupation that all the most coarse talents, and most vulgar passions of mankind are busied. As it is all carried on by a system of intrigue and management, and unblushing disregard of all those principles of sincerity, plain dealing, and honor, which a man in his individual conduct would be ashamed to disavow: so, from the instant that Literature falls under the same dominion, the same rules of acting are applied to it without shame or hesitation. It is notorious that English Literature is now under the direction of the two great Political Parties who rule over the State. The Law is given at their respective Coteries, or Cabinets. The Author, who by his independence has omitted to create any interest

with one of these Parties, is most punctiliously, and with unbroken caution, condemned to neglect. It would be treason even to mention his name.

But it is quite impossible, that a practical Politician, living in the heated and contagious temperament of daily contention, should have a pure and unvitiated taste in literature! All his opinions must be mixed with so much which is adventitious and artificial, that it would be above humanity to separate them! We know also that very minor wits make great men among the practical politicians.

All the higher departments of literature lead to a tone of mind quite inconsistent with the routine of practical affairs. They cannot therefore find a due sympathy in the taste of men so employed! An habit of piquancy, and sarcasm, and raillery grows up, which is mistaken for solid superiority: and the sensitiveness of genius is sacrificed to the flippant jest of a lively companion.

All this is exactly what the multitude, great and small, enjoys. Nothing is so hateful to them

as intellectual superiority; and nothing so delightful as to pull it down! We are no longer to be dazzled by its splendor; and to be blind to its faults! We are to teach the mob to detect every weakness with microscopic eye; to analyse away its beauties; and to exaggerate its defects and errors! to instruct the envious how to sneer; and the stupid how to laugh!

Hence men come boldly forward as Authors, who rely upon their management and influence among certain *Coteries;* and hence those who disdain such servitude, submit to a sullen silence; and to close within their own bosoms the energies of genius, which might have delighted the world!---

It is ludicrous enough, that Great Britain, which in every thing else is becoming extravagantly *democratical*, is governed in literature by two petit and narrow, but imperious, unbending, and exclusive *Aristocracies!*----One transcendant Genius has, indeed, shewn himself above them all; and made a law and a dominion to himself!----In defiance of politics, in defiance of personalities, his strength has risen with op-

pression and laughing his assailants to scorn, he has forced the applause he disdained to solicit!

Till they, who shall take the lead, will trust less to their own crude notions and imperfect views, and more to what the literature of ages has acknowledged as standards of taste, or of moral and political truth; till there shall be more of individual and independent scholarship, and less of Party conspiracy, Literature will continue to decline among the British as rapidly as it has done in the last twenty years; and perhaps with accelerated velocity.

FINIS.

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BT
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